STUDIES IN INDIAN SOCIAL POLITY

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PREFACE.

This book is written with the idea of giving a new sociological interpretation of the formation of Hindu social-polity from an angle of vision not to be found in the texts of the orthodox Indologists. They have taken "caste" as a peculiar Indian social phenomenon, and many regard it as the resultant institution arising out of the struggle between the white "Aryan" and the black "Non-Aryan" of India. But the recent discovery of the ruins of the so-called "Indus Valley Civilization" and its anthropological finds are sure to modify this view. Again, the recent investigations of the scientists of the *Academy of Sciences* of the U. S. S. R. regarding Pre-history and Archæology of western and central Asia, will lead to further modifications of the orthodox views of the Pan-Germanist Orientalists regarding India and the Near East.

The writer during his stay in Europe and America as a student, got the impression, that many of the savants interpret Indian Social Polity from the stand-point of Race-struggle. Indeed, with the rise of Colonial Imperialism amongst the bigger nations of the West, occidental savants began to interpret world history on the basis of Race-theory. In this light they have interpreted the origin of the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. And the same *Virus* has been applied to the Vedic period of Indian history. Nay, with the transformation of the theory of "Germanism" to "Nordicism" in Germany, the "Nordics" are being attemped to be discovered in the Vedas !

These occidental savants in their hurry to foist theories coloured by their national-chauvinism, have forgotten to make a comparison between the origin and the condition of their societies of ancient and mediaeval days with that of India. It is unintelligible why the meaning of the word *Varna* should be emphasized by them as *skin-colour* which according to them is the indicator

of the origin of the Indian caste-system, while the Nordic Saga containing allusions like that of "*Purusha-sukta*" of the Vedas regarding origin of three classes of men of different colours amongst the Teutons should be glossed over. Again, hypergamous marriages of some sorts with their legal implications were not unknown to the Classical and Mediaeval countries of Europe. But no comparison between them and those of the Hindu society has ever been made! Similarly, the vexatious attitude of men of the upper grades towards those further down and the customs of *wer-geld* arising out of it have been the same world over. Yet, similar customs bearing a class-character have been explained as of peculiar Indian religious origin. In other words, the Indian Social Institutions have not been explained in the light of a study of modern comparative sociology.

During his stay in Europe as a student, the writer met the sociologist, Prof. Dr. Vierkandt of Berlin University, and also Prof. C. Bougle of the Sorbonne, the author of "Essais sur le Regime des Castes" 1908, at Paris. While discussing with them regarding the origin of the Indian caste-system, the writer suggested that the formation of caste and class may not everywhere lie in racial difference, that caste and class may have evolved out of the society itself. Also, the writer informed them that he was making a comparative study in this line. Both of them had said that it would be a good theme to work upon, and advised the writer to make a comparative study of the origin of class and caste. Again, Dr. Koeppers, the editor of "Anthropos" (Vienna) while accepting his contribution entitled "Das Indische Kastensystem" for his magazine in A. D. 1924, wrote to the writer that he also agreed that the Indian caste system has got an economic basis. He also gave an assurance that the younger section of the Indologists are converging towards this opinion. Thus, it is evident that the author is in good company.

Further, while collecting materials for his doctor's dissertation at the Swedish Libraries in A. D. 1920, and interviewing the explorer Mr. Sven Hedin for the same, the writer met the great Swedish scientist Prof. Lundborg of Upsala University who told him that "it is time that the Indians take science in their own hands." Again, at the same time, when he met the late archaeologist Prof. Montelius at Stockholm, and talked about India, he very kindly showed him from the press-copy of his book entitled "Kultur des Ostens" illustrated pictures of pre-historic ceramic arts from Susa and told the writer about its similarity with the Indian ones. He opined that a trade route starting from India, crossing over Elam and Mesopotamia on its way and extending up to the Hittite country in Asia Minor, existed in ancient days. Thus, he threw suggestive hints about the so-called pre-historic cultural connections of India with the Near East. This throws a sidelight on the direction regarding the antiquity of the Indian Society. And this bit of news was anterior to the publication of the discovery of the "Indus Valley Civilization" ! Unfortunately, as reported to the writer later on, this book could not be completed, owing to the sad demise of the author.

There have thus arisen in the mind of the writer doubts regarding the correctness of the existing data concerning Indology, and the talks described above have inspired the writer to publish the result of his studies regarding India. From his doctor's dissertation to the present-day writings, he is giving out the results of his investigaton. As regards this work, the writer has collected most of his material in the matter of comparative study involved here from the Berlin Public Library and similar collections elsewhere in Europe.

The result of his studies has been already partly embodied in the Bengali language. The studies regarding the foreign countries have been published in Bengali magazines. They are not yet collected in a book form. His study on "History of

CHAPTER I.

Epochs in Indian History.

In studying about the origin of the Indian social-polity known as the 'caste-system' we will have to go into the roots of its genesis, growth and condition in different epochs of the Indian history. Various attempts have been made to find out the root cause of the system, or the phenomena that have led to the evolution of this institution in India. And various theories have been advanced as the solution to this social phenomenon. But a single formula cannot be regarded as the key to the solution of the whole problem.

The Indian caste-system is a big complex composed of various factors. Races and invasions, institutions and governments of different epochs of the history of India have left their marks on the society. Hence there cannot be a single solution to this social problem. The whole complex has got to be analysed and dissected in parts, and then the characteristics should be explained.

In order to find out the genesis of the Indian caste-system, it has got to be studied by dividing the history of India into different epochs, and then we will have to find out the condition of the institution of caste in the environment of the particular epoch in question. So far it has been in vogue to take up the question apart from its environments and study it, as if it is a permanent and static phenomenon! But the Indian society has not been a static one; hence we cannot discover *Sanatan-Dharma* in a socio-economic institution like the caste-system.

The period of the civilization of the Indian people is a long one. Beginning with pre-historic Indus Valley civilization and continuing to 2000/1700—1500 B. C., the date fixed by some

Indologists as the period of the oldest parts of the Vedas when the chief of the tribal state combined the functions of a King, a judge and a priest in his own person, to the Court of Janaka at Videha where the Brahman men and women discoursed on philosophy and religion, to the Buddhist councils some of which were held under the auspices of the Buddhist Kings, to present-day cultural activities, the history of India is divided into many epochs. And all the institutions of the country have got to be studied as parts of the political complex of the epoch in question. Hence to pick up anything at random from the big cauldron of the Indian history which has been boiling, melting and shaping various institutions in these long ages and to say, this is the thing in its proper form, is to hit outside the mark.

Different epochs in Indian History.

On this account, in order to find out the origin of the caste-system we should divide the Indian history into such epochs as the Vedic age (The Mahenjo-daro period is left out of the list of epochs as its relation with the Vedic people is not yet clear and is regarded as outside the historical period) ending with the Aranyaka period of the Vedas, the post-Vedic age till the rise of the Maurya power, the Maurya age till the establishment of the Brahmanical political power of the Sungas and the Kanvas etc. Then we will have to make microscopic examinations of the ethnic, sociological, political environments in which the institution known as the caste-system is situated. Then we can appraise the origin and growth of the system in question.

As society is based on economic factors and political power gives a shape to it, it cannot be understood how the growth of an institution like the caste-system can be regarded as arising out of the fiat of an interested priesthood or the "mana" of some superstitious peoples or some other devices ! Hence economic causes leading to its political expressions have to be discovered in order to find out the roots of the system.

In our enquiry, we are confronted with a mighty array of Sanskrit books written by the Brahmans which so long have been regarded as the sole guide to this problem. But with the discovery of the Buddhist and Jaina literatures, it has been found out that there is another version of the question which does not agree with the Brahmanical one. It is now found out that the Brahmanical version of the Indian society is one-sided and a sectional one, and comparing with the other literatures and palaeographic records, it has been found out that in many cases it does not conform to the actual conditions existing in the society. For this reason, we must be careful in dogmatising a theory of Indian society by reading the texts containing the theories of the priesthood. Hence a historical perspective is necessary.

Here, before we start with our enquiry into the origin of the Indian caste-system we must determine the definition of the term "caste". The sociologists say that when a class becomes incrusted by denying *connubium* and *commensality* with other classes, the class turns itself into a caste. The Indian castes are mutually exclusive groups, practising endogamy and interdicting interdining with the persons of other castes. Each caste has got also rules and regulations for the preservation of its own integrity. This is the present state of the Indian caste-system on which the Hindu social fabric is based. It fits the definition of the sociologists. But the question is "Has it always been so"?

In order to find the ancient source of the system we should refer to the early sources whence the Indian traditions begin.

Early Indian traditions.

The cultural history of the Indian people began with the Aryan-speaking people of the Vedas. So far the Vedas are the oldest document of the Indian culture. The Rig-Veda does not speak of the Sudra except in the "Purusha-Sukta" which is

said by the Indologists to be a later interpolation. But the name is mentioned in the Yajur-Veda, and the Aitereya Brahmana speaks of four Varnas and the superiority of the priestly class of the Brahmans. From the Rig-Veda down to the Brahmanas we find the evolution of different classes in the Indian society. Here we speak of "classes", because connubium and commensality were not interdicted in those days.[1] Ludwig says, the caste system had its inception from the very beginning ; but it seems that Zimmer[2] is right when he points out that if the caste-system originated in the Indus Valley, then why the epics (vide the scolding of Karna to Salya in Mahabharata) were so hard on the Vratyas who dwelt on the western side of the bank of the Indus and to the people of the land of five waters ?

Further, in the Vedas we do not find anything about the question of untouchability in the form that is extant in India to-day. Also the Vedas do not speak of the difference of *wergeld* of different classes.[3]

Again, the Vedas speak of the class-disputes between Kshatriyas and Brahmans[4], each class arrogating to itself to be the superior to the other. Further the Kshatriya king is seen to be acting as a fighter and a priest at the sametime like the Greek and Roman Kings.

By glancing at the Vedic Literature one can clearly see that out of the *Vis*, the common people, the Kshatriyas took their rise and from the Kshatriyas the priestly class differentiated itself in its turn. When the functions of the husbandman and the

1 As late as Sixth and Seventh centuries A. D. we hear of inter-caste marriages. vide C. I. I. vol. III. No. 35. "Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhan" p. 152 : also *Epigraphica Indica* vol XV. No. 19. "Tipperah Copperplate Grant of Lokenath" Verses 2-9.

2 Zimmer—"*alt. indiches Leben*".

3 The only wergeld that *Rig Veda* spoke was of 100 cows and there was no caste differentiation in this matter as it was in later days.

4 Vide *Vedic Indea*—Vol I. pp. 202-205.

agriculturist differentiated themselves from that of the fighter, then we find that the Kshatriya Varna, as a separate one, takes its rise. The same evolution took place in ancient Russia[5]; the *Rathaostra* of Persia originated similarly. Latterly we find that after much struggle the Kshatra (King) separating his priestly functions from his temporal functions. The same evolution took place in Grece and Rome. But the priestly class in ancient India originated from the Kshatriyas (vide the stories of Devapi and Viswamitra). Thus, as elsewhere, from the original *publicum* (*vis*) of India, the lords temporal and spiritual have taken their rise. That there was no incrustation of the social classes is to be seen in the frequent inter-marriages of the various classes, in the changing of the social class in the case not only of Viswamitra and others but also in the case of the Brahma-Kshatriyas, in the elevation of the son of a Sudra woman Ailusa Kavasa to priesthood, in the elevation of a Sudra Janasruti to Kingship, and in the elevation of the Sudras to ministerial posts and affluent social positions etc. Again, we hear of a dark-skinned Rishi named Kanva! also of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas as Rishis who wrote hymns of the Vedas.

Thus in all these facts where do we find the conflict of of colour or race and the divine ordination of the social hierarchy? Rather it seems that Senart and those who think like him are right that the caste-system in the form of social groupings or classes had its inception in the united Aryo-Iranian period of the history of the Asiatic Indo-Europeans. The names of the three Persian upper classes agree with those of the Indian ones. But the Sudra was absent in ancient Persia, instead we find the Vaisu (*Vis* of Sankrit ?) as the lowest class. But the Vis from which the Vaishya has taken its rise was a *dwija* in ancient days. The Vaisya was originally a husbandman, then we find the degradation of the cultivating class.

5. Kluchevesky, "*History of Russia*".

Question of Racial Origin.

Now comes the question of the Sudras. The European orientalists think that the Sudras are the original inhabitants of the soil, a dark-skinned people whom the white-skinned conquerors enslaved. But it seems that it is a hypothesis which originated in the minds of the Germanic-speaking Indologists who drew an analogy between the existing race-conflicts in South Africa and North America and those of ancient India. In this hypothesis, various suppositions have been made. Firstly, what proof is there that the original Indo-Aryans were white? True it is that the Vedas speak of the "Arya-Varna" and "Dasa-Varna", and the scriptures, of four Varnas typifying the four orders. But did the word "Varna" originally mean skin-colour? In that case, we will have to accept the theory that the ancient people of the Punjab were composed of all the four races as differentiated by Blumenbach, viz. the White Race (Caucasian), the Red Race (American Aboriginal race), the Yellow Race (the Mongolian), the Black Race (the Negro). If the white-skinned Brahman belonged to the white Indo-European Race and the black-skinned Sudra belonged to the black Negroid Race, then what about the red Kshatriya and yellow Vaishya caste? This interpretation is absurd on the face of it. Rather it seems[6] that these are allegorical interpretations typifying different professions. The Hindu Scriptures say so. The priest typifies religious functions, hence as emblem of purity he is described as white. The same is the case with the Angels of the Christian Heaven. Service is soiled, hence the servile Sudra is black etc.

But to prove the blonde characteristics of the Vedic people, the Indologists bring out the proofs that the Vedic gods were described as Whites[7]. In this matter, it seems that the same

6 Compare the Scandinavian Eddas regarding the origin of different classes of the Germanic Society; also vide Bluntschli "*The Theory of State*".

7 In the Satarudriya Litany of the White Jajur-Veda, the god Rudra is called as "golden-armed" (16.17), and god Sabita as "golden-handed" (1. 20, 34. 35).

mistake has been made in the case of the Indian gods as has been made in the case of those of the Greeks and the Romans, and Sergi's arguments can be applied in the case of India as well. It is probable that these are allegorical Epithetaornantia and these allegories cannot be taken as physical characteristics of the people of those days[8]. Then what proof was there that the Vedic people were homogeneous. In Afghanistan, in South Persia and even in West Asia dark brown-skinned persons are to be met with[9]. Further, as stated above, some of the Vedic Rishis were dark and many of the Hindu heroes and heroines of the Epics were dark. Again, the scanty trace of any blonde characteristics either in the Indian population or in the ancient literature is of debatable origin.

Fallacy of Nordicism.

Hence the European theory of a Nordic invasion from North Europe or from some other northern region to India which coming in conflict with the dark aborigines has given rise to social stratification based on difference of skin-colour is not only untenable but it is to be regarded as a pangermanic myth. Again those who opine that according to the amount of Aryan blood that the hybrids have got within them, they have taken their ranks in the Indian social hierarchy and quote the instances of the mixed breeds of North America forget, that the heterozygotic elements arising out of the mixture of the whites and the blacks in North America do not form different social strata in the society. The full-blooded Negro, the Mulatto, the Quadroon, the Octoroon do not form the mutually exclusive endogamous social groups, rather all of them together form the "coloured" society which is, of course, excluded from the white

8 The Atharva Veda speaks of the black hair on a man's head (Bk. 6.137.2-3).

9 This is the writer's personal observation. As regards the presence of dark element amongst the Afghans and other Hindukush tribes, vide B. S. Guha in *Census of India*, 1931 Vol. I, India. Pt. III. *Ethnographical* p. XIX.

society. The analogy with the American hybrids do not hold good, neither for the same reason does it hold good in the case of the hybrids between the Europeans and the Indians of the present day.

Hence the analogy of the stratification of the Indian castes with the heterozygotic persons of North America or elsewhere falls to the ground. Again, it has been shown elsewhere[10] that the data of Risley belie his own dictum that the status of a caste stands in *inverse ratio* with the amount of Aryan blood it has got. If the above-mentioned analogy fails, then Risley's dictum falls too. Moreover it has got no anthropological basis. Why the leptorrhinian Jats stand in lower order than the Khetris, why the Lambadis, a non-Brahman caste of South India, are leptorrhinians and the Brahmans are mesorrhinians? Again why the Kanarese Pariahs are comparatively narrow-nosed than the Brahmans of the Madras city? The fact is that the status of a caste certainly does not stand in inverse ratio with its nasal index as asserted by Risley. Hence it is obvious that there is no racial basis of the Indian caste-system. The Indian castes do not bear any analogy with the mixed-breeds of any country. On the other hand, by making an analysis of some of the data of Risley's Castes, it has been shown in the afore-mentioned article of the writer that each caste has got elements of different characteristics within itself, and these elements are identical with those of other castes. That is, all the castes are mixed in their composition and they do not represent different biotypes. Again in "Anthropological Notes on some West-Bengal Castes" and in "Anthropological Notes on some Assam Castes" it has been shown by the writer[11] that there is no homogeneity amongst the castes of these provinces; the castes overlap one

10 B. N. Datta "*Das Indische Kasten System*" in "*Anthropos*". Bd. XXI. 1927.

11 B. N. Datta in "*Man in India*" Vol. XIV. Nos. 3 and 4. 34; "*Anthropological papers*" New Series No. 5. Calcutta University Press, 38.

other in their racial compositions. Hence to talk of the purity of a caste is a misnomer or to say that the more a caste has got "Aryan" blood within itself the higher is its status, is not the truth.

Class-struggle in ancient India.

But the difference of status and stratification with different rights and privileges lies in the force of class-conflicts that had raged in India from the Vedic Age. If we are to seek an analogy of Indian class stratification with elsewhere, we will have to find it in the classical histories of Greece and Rome and in the Mediaeval histories of Germany, France and England than with the Mulattoes and Quadroons of North America ![12] Greece emerges in history with a feudalistic society though still in tribal state. Here we find the king holding the post of a tribal chief as well as that of priest, below him are the feudal aristocrats and still below are the 'Theta' in Athens or the 'Perikoi' in Sparta and the 'Helot' serfs, besides the slaves. It cannot be said that anthropologically they were different. Of course, the Perikoi and the Helots were conquered peoples and the status of each group was determined by the gradation of political rights it enjoyed. The same was at the beginning of the Roman Empire ; yet again, these groups formed one society like the Hindu one. True it is that the aristocratic Spartan, the subject Perikoi and the Helot serf did not form one single community but the aristocratic Athenian citizens, the business men and the poor citizens of Attica formed one single society. And in this society the status of each stratum was determined by its political status which again was determined by its economic status[13]. To any student of Greek

12 The mixed-breeds do not form castes in America.

13 The status accorded to each Athenian citizen according to his wealth during the period of Timocracy was a clear example of it.

history this is clear. Hence it is evident that economic status determines the social and political status. Then we find that after the abolition of Kingship in Greece when the political power fell in the hands of the aristocrats, they kept the ruling power and priestly functions in their own hands. Such was the case in Rome. The more the society advanced towards the feudal incrustation, more the social differences and inequalities with their vexatious laws and restrictions fell heavily on the shoulders of the poorer classes. In the end, marriage with equal footing was disallowed amongst the members of different classes. In India if *Anuloma* marriage could be allowed, *Pratiloma* marriage was a crime. The Roman patricians even went further; they said that inter-marriage with the Plebians will make their blood impure, so any offering from their hands by the gods will not be acceptable.[14] Further the Roman patricians even asserted that gods will not take libations from the hands of the Plebians. It sounds like Manu's Manava-Dharma-Sashtra! Again the amount of wer-geld to be paid by the lower class became greater with the advance of the feudal age. Also the dis-enfranchised people had to wear special badges to show their class-identities. Again in the Middle Ages, Europe had to undergo a similar evolution. There were three estates everywhere, and in some places there were four estates. From the absolute king to the serfs and in many places to the slaves there were gradations of social and political rights and privileges. Yet they all belonged to the same white race. By scanning the history of Europe of ancient and Middle Ages, it will be found that the conquest of one tribe by another has not always led to this differentiation. Rather in many places, loss of economic means has led to political nullity which has led further to social degradation. The same evolution

14 Compare the prohibition of personal worship of *Narayana-Sila* or any god by a Sudra!

has taken place in Russia after the age of Peter the Great. The large mass of dis-enfranchised serfs of Russia were once freed citizens and respectable men. Further European society in ancient and Middle Ages was stratified and incrustated giving rise to the question of interdiction of connubium and possibly the question also of commensality. Commensality between the priests of several gilds and laymen actually was broken off in Germany.[15] The excuse used to be given by the priests was that as they had to deal with Church matters at the table, it was useless for the laymen to be present there, so they were excused from the table.

But everywhere in ancient and modern Europe, with the rise of the commercial and industrial classes, social rigidity began to break down. History says that with the rise of the bourgeoisie and with the spread of the commercial and industrial Athenian Empire when the political power fell in the hands of the merchant classes, social barriers began to break down. But Romans were never industrial though the terrible "civil" wars between Sulla and Marius have been between the aristocracy and the middle class. Roman aristocrats kept up their exclusiveness down to the last days of the empire. For this reason, it may be possible that democratic-communistic Christianity became transformed into bureaucratic and hierarchical Roman Catholic Church.

These are mentioned here to show that Race theory, Colour-distinction theory, Mana theory etc. are not the answers to

15 W. E Wilda in his book entitled "*Das Gildenwesen im Mittelalter*" says that in the "Kalendsbruederschaften" of the 14th century, the wives of the lay members were not allowed to take part in the common meals. In St Johannis Kalandsgild of the same century the laymen had to sit in a separate table at the meal time and new members with the help of another person had to serve at the table of the brother members. In the Nord-Strandarer Marienkalend, the lay members had a separate table for their meals. The ground for this separation was that at the priestly table Holy lessons will be read and things to be cultivated which required silence and the matters of the priestly class will be discussed as well pp. 358-360.

the question on the origin of the Indian caste complex. In India if the tribal Vedic period did not know any caste system, there was class system. Here one pertinent question has to be brought out that the Vedic India though it was in tribal condition, yet had emerged out of the tribal-communistic stage or did not have it at all. Maine's theory regarding this stage in the Vedas is now held to be untenable. By scanning the pages of the Vedas, we find that kingship was established, there was a group of fighters or armed retainers around the king, that in the end the priestly function was differentiated from the kingly function and out of the fighting class the priestly class had taken its rise, and that possibly a serf class (*sti* and *usti*) had also developed and finally the institution of private property had taken its rise. So the Vedic people were far away from the primordial tribal condition. At that time unlike the city state of Greece (which was also tribal in its basis), the Vedic state was a tribal state. Hence in this condition we do not find incrustation of the classes into castes; neither did the question of food and touch taboo take its rise.[16]

Here that famous saying of the Rigveda should be remembered when a Rishi says "I am a bard, my father a physician, my mother a stone grinder. Planning in various ways, desirous of wealth, we live following (others) like cattle, flow Soma, flow for Indra's sake". (IX. 112-3). This stanza clearly gives lie to the theory of the existence of the caste system from the very beginning or to the theory of racial basis of the same. Again in the same casteless society a rich upper class was developed in Rig Vedic age (Mahkula and Maghavan). Then also we find the Vaishyas forming *guilds* to protect themselves from the exactions of the Kshatriya ruler as well as free Sudras who were engaged in agriculture and arts of lower sorts. Also we find slaves being mentioned.

16 Vide the story of Brahman Vamadeva in the Veda who ate dog's meat at the place of a Chandala (an untouchable) in hunger.

But with the course of further development, we find the different classes fighting with each other. Each of the upper classes asserting its superiority over the others. The Rajanya asserted their superiority over all other castes (Taittiriya Samhita II. 5, 10, 1 etc.) In opposition, the Brahman sometimes asserted his superiority over the Rajanya (Kshatriya) (Atharva Veda: V. 18, 19; Maitrayani Samhita IV. 3, 8; Vajasaneyi Samhita XXI. 21). There are references to occasional feuds between the people and the nobles (Taittiriya Samhita ii. 2, 11, 2; Maitrayani Samhita III. 3, 10; Kathaka Samhita XXIX. 8 etc.). Again sometimes there was feud between Kshatriya and Brahman (A. V. V. 18—19; Taittiriya Samhita II. 2, 11, 2; Maitrayani Samhita II. 6, 5; II. 1, 9: and Kathaka Samhita XXIV. 8 etc.)

At last we find a great struggle between the Kshatriyas and the Brahmans of which the Brahmanical version is given in the Ramayana[17] and the Kshatriya version in the Jaina religious books, while Pargiter[18] culls out another version from the Mahabharata. This is the fight which is known in mythology as the fight between the Brahman Vargava family led by Parasurama and the Kshatriya Haihayas led by Kartavirjarjuna. According to Weber and Zimmer, this fight took place in the period that was between the latter part of the Vedas and the Epic Age. Weber thinks that during this war between the Kshatriyas and the Brahmans when kings like Pururabas and Nahusa tyrannzied over the Brahmans and maltreated them, and when the Kshatriyas used to rob the women and cows of the Brahmans that the "Brahmajaya Stotras", "Brahmagavi Stotra" and "Satarudriya Stotras" were written. The latter hymns were invoked to Rudra who was supposed to be omnipresent and omnicient. In this frightful war which lasted according to Pargiter for a hundred years, the Brahmans were

17 The Jaina Scriptures give a version that is very opposite to the Brahmanical one vide Jaina *"Harivamsa"*, *"Subhauma Charita"*.

18 Pargiter, "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition pp. 199-200.

awfully handled and at last worsted[19] though, according to Zimmer[20], they gained at the end concessions from the ruling class. They were privileged to get respect, gift, inviolability and freedom from capital punishment.

These facts are referred to here to show that there was a big class-struggle before the Brahmans could monopolize priestly functions to themselves. Senart[21] refuses to see class-struggle in this fight as he says that there had been castes in ancient India and no classes. But with due deference to him, we beg to differ. It is clear to any one who perused the ancient Indian records that there were classes and no castes in the period in question.[22] It was only by hard struggle that priests began to assert themselves and to form themselves as a separate hereditary social group.

Then comes the Buddhist Age. At this age we find the Kshatriyas asserting themselves as the first Varna. This was always asserted by Gautama Buddha. The Buddhist and Jaina literatures have expressed the views that the Kshatriyas were the first Varna, then come the Brahmans. Fick[23] quotes from the Buddhist Literature the stories that the "king Arindama called a son of a priest as a man of low birth (hinajacca), and the king of Kosala while talking with his Brahman employee used to put a screen as he would not see his face, while the Sakyas seeing a Brahman entering their Mote Hall while they were sitting, fell on each other laughing and pushed him back with the finger and did not ask him to take a seat.[24] Thus in

19 Pargiter, op. cit. pp. 270-271.

20 Zimmer, op. cit. P. 203.

21 Senart "*Caste in India*" p. 143.

22 Fick and Vincent Smith say that the Indian Varnas are not "castes", rather they are classes.

23 R. Fick, "*The Social Organization in North-East India in Buddha's Time*" Tr. by Maitra, pp. 83-87.

24 These cannot be called the influence of Mana or Magic; these are purely class-arrogance.

these examples we see the Kshatriyas' attitude towards the Brahmans.

Again in the period of 500 B. C., we, for the first time, come across the word "Anarya" in Sanskrit Literature. It was Jaska who in his "Nirukta and Nirghantu" used the word "Anarya" for the 'Kikata' (the later Magadha) country.[25] Many Indologists[26] thereby say that the word "Anarya" stands for "Non-Aryan" people. But Weber[27] thinks that the word stands for the heretical Buddists as their forerunners. The Brahmans used that epithet for those who did not follow the Vedic rules or what they called the "Aryan Path". On the other hand, the Buddists have always called themselves as the followers of the "Aryan Path". Here we must remember that Buddha lived nearly in the same period and his teachings were first accepted in Magadha. Hence it is no wonder that the orthodox Brahmans have denounced the heterodox Magadhians as the non-followers of the Aryan Path or Anarya. It seems that Weber was right in his surmises. The word "Arya" never stood as a racial name as it is used by the Germanic savants. It never denoted a particular biotype in the Sanskrit Literature. Jaska's "Anarya" is not the Sanskrit translation of French "Non-Aryen" or German "Nicht-Arier". It seems that the word "Anarya" as nowadays used in India is the translation of the aforesaid European words which either have got anthropological or political meaning. It is evident that in the Sanskrit books the word "Arya" has got only a cultural and religious meaning.

Thus the fight began with the orthodox polity supported by the priestly class and the heterodox and revolutionary polity backed by the Kshatriyas. It is significant that many of the

25 The Jaina religious books regarded Magadha and Bengal to be the countries of good Aryans who were called "Khettariya". Vide S. Levi "*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*", translated by P. Bagchi, pp. 3—74.

26 Zimmer, op. cit. 31 : Geldner : "*Rigveda Commentar*" 58.

27 Weber "*Indische Studien*" I, 186.

exponents and leaders of Jainism and Buddhism and other dissentient sects were Kshatriyas. If the ruling class began to revolt from the Vedic polity, there was no wonder that the Vaishyas and the downtrodden Sudras followed their train too. Hence the class-struggle entered a new phase of religious struggle.

The Sociologists opine that everywhere in ancient and mediaeval ages class-struggle has taken form of religious struggle[28]. And it is a historical truth. In politically developed states of Greece and Rome class-struggle was very clear and followed a clear political path. But in the latter part of the Roman Empire when the slaves and the lowly accepted Christianity and in the Middle Ages when the heretical sects fought the Roman Catholic hierarchy, did not class-struggle take the form of religious struggle[29] ? We will have to see the historical materialistic force behind the heretical movements. We must remember that the Ideological interpretation of history and the Economic interpretation of history meet in the common ground—interest[30].

Hence what was the motive force behind the revolt against the Vedic sacerdotalism by the non-Brahman classes of India of those days. A historical materialistic interpretation of the phenomenal rise of Buddhism in India is not yet given. What was the force that led the masses of peoples to accept a religion which ensured salvation to all and gave a democratic polity to them ? We will have to reconstruct the history of this period.

Then came the rule of the Nandas after the Kshatriya rule of the Saisunagas in Magadha. It seems that the Nandas were not accepted as Kshatriyas and the Puranas say that Mahapadma Nanda uprooted the Kshatriyas[31].

28 Doellinger. "*Contributions to the theory of Sects*", Vol. II.

29 Max Beer, "*Social struggle and Social Forerunner*", p. 146.

30 Ward. "*Applied Sociology.*"

31 Pargiter. *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

The question can be pertinently asked here, what led to the holocaust of the Kshatriyas by Mahapadma ? The Puranas are silent about it. Was it due to the fact that perhaps the Nandas were not accepted as Kshatriyas, being the illegitimate offsprings of the Saisunagas or that they were the offsprings of mixed unions of some sort ? At least the Purana says, Mahapadma Nanda who exterminated the Kshatriyas had a Sudra woman for a mother, while his relative Chandragupta narrated to the Macedonian Alexander[32] that really he was born of a barber and asserted that as such he was hated by the people. But the Puranas speak of a King of Magadha, Visvasphani who "overthrowing all kings will make other caste kings, namely, Kaivarttas, Pancakas, Pulindas and Brahmans, overthrowing the Kshatriya caste will create another Kshatriya caste"[33].

Now the question is, who is this Visvasphani who made such a terrible revolutionary change in the country that was ever recorded in Indian history ? Pargiter puts his date in the Third Century after Christ. But Shamasastry[34] conjectures that he may be one of the "wild chiefs of Sudra origin like Chandragupta" and he sees it confirmed in the illustration of this Visvasphani, thereby putting the date of this occurrence in the third century before Christ ; while Jayaswal[35] tries to bring out proof that this mysterious personage was no other than the Scythian Satrap, Banaspharas, of Benares. This assertion requires further proof, but it seems, that either Mahapadma Nanda or Chandragupta may fit the Pauranic description. With the rise of the Maurya Chandragupta the ruling power fell in the hands of the Sudras. And this struggle might have led to the fearful massacre of the former ruling class, the Kshatriyas and the creation

32 *Ditto.*

33 *Ditto*, p. 73.

34 R. Shamasastry, "*Evolution of Indian Polity*", pp. 140-141.

35 Jayswal "*History of India*" 150 A.D. to 350 A.D. in *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XIX Pt. I and II, 1933, pp. 41-42.

of a new class of rulers and the new class of Kshatriyas. Is this not another forceful example of class-struggle in ancient Indian history? Were not the classes, according to the popular expression as "castes", modified by this struggle? In this example, it is clearly seen that the State forms and modifies the social stratification.

Then we come to another revolutionary epoch—the rise of the Mauryas. Chandragupta is accredited to have been a Sudra by the Puranas.[36] The tradition goes that with the help of the Brahman Kautilya, the former one was raised to the throne of Magadha and later on, he became the first emperor of a centralized Indian empire with foreign alliances. Thus, as we have already heard of a Sudra and a Parasava as kings in the Vedas, now we have a Vrisala Sudra as emperor of Northern India. And in the reign of the Sudra monarch, Kautilya the prime minister, tried to do away with slavery, for he said "The selling or mortgaging by kinsmen of the life of a Sudra who is not a born slave, and has not attained majority but is an *Arya* by birth (Aryapran) shall be punished with a fine of 12 Panas' ..."but never shall an Arya be subjected to slavery...The offspring of a man who has sold himself off as a slave shall be an Arya...on paying the value (for which one is enslaved), a slave shall regain his Aryahood. The same thing shall apply either to born or pledged slaves"[37]. Here, again, the meaning of the word "Arya" comes in another light. If in the Vedas and in the religious books the word "Arya" had a religious or cultural designation, here it gives a political meaning. Kautilya's[38] definition clearly shows that no racial meaning as supposed by the Orientalists is attached to it. Here the word "Arya" must be understood in the sense

35 There is an attempt amongst some of the present-day Indian writers to make Chandragupta a scion of a Kshatriya clan! But his humble origin is also borne out by Buddhist tradition (Mahawamsa-ed Turnour, P. X) and by the Greek writer Justin (XV, 4) who stated that "he was born in humble life.". *Vide* also, "*Mudrarakshasa*" Drama.

37, 38 R. Shamasastry, "*Kautilya's Arthasastra*" p. 224.

of a citizen or a member of the State with full political rights. It has the same connotation as the word "citizen" in Greece and Rome. Of course, the cultural meaning cannot be removed from the civic, as in Greece only a member of the Hellenic tribes could be a citizen or a Semitic Carthaginian could only enjoy the full rights of Carthaginian citizenship. Hence taking the sense of Kautilya, is not a Sudra to be accounted as a member of the "Aryan" race ?

Then comes Asoka, the grandson of the first Sudra emperor of India. If Kautilya was hard on the Sudras in the matter of 'wergeld' and upheld the sanctity of the Brahmans in spite of his attempt to do away with slavery in a round-about way, and inspite of calling them as "Aryas", Asoka did away with the rest of the legal inequalities. His edicts testify that he ordered equalities for all his subjects in the matter of lawsuits and punishment.[39] Further, by various means, he took away from the Brahmans the benefices that they were enjoying from old times.[40] It seems that Asoka built up a bureaucracy without a class (Varna) basis. The late Pandit Haraprasad Sastri says that these were the causes which led to the Brahmanical revolt against[41] the Mauryas which came to a head under the Brahman general Pushyamitra. With the downfall of the Mauryas and with the establishment of Pushyamitra, the Brahmins came to rule over a vast area for the first time.[42] With the usurpation

39 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. I. Fourth Pillar Edict of Asoka : Delhi Topra. p. 125.

40 Vide C. I. I. op cit ; First Rock-Edict—Girner, Ninth Rock-Edict Girner, Seventh Rock-Piller, Delhi-Topra.

41 Haraprasad Sastri. "*Jour. Asiatic Socy. Bengal*". 1901 p. 259. Vide also S. Bhimasankara, "Evolution of the Brahmanical Hierarchy in Ancient India" in Jour. Andhra Hist. Research Socy. vol. IV. pts 1-4. 1930.

42 It is said that Jatakas (73,432) refer to kings of several castes including Brahmans (H. C. Roy Chowdhuri, "*Political History of Ancient India.*" p. 114). But these certainly were not like those in power and influence who usurped the Maurya Imperial throne. They must have been local chiefs or rulers of small areas.

of the sceptre, the Brahmans elevated themselves as a ruling class. Manusamhita, clearly a reactionary book, was composed as the gospel of the great counter-revolution led by Pushyamitra.[43] Here it is asserted that a Brahman can be a general, even a king. Thus the right of a Brahman to ascend a throne is asserted here for the first time. Then the book is fanatically hard on the Sudras; its hatred to the Sudras is unbounded. Further it clearly says that only the persons of good families and well-versed in Sastras can become King's officers. Again, no Sudra can be appointed as a judge. Thus Asoka's administrative machinery was destroyed and in its place a reactionary Brahmanical bureaucratic machinery was set up. It is clear that the book and the laws advocated in it, were totally against the Buddhists and the Sudras. Even the Buddhists have been denounced in it.

Thus the "Manava-Dharma Sastra" or the "Laws of Manu" is a great land-mark of class-struggle between the former ruling Sudras with their heretical leanings and the reactionary and counter-revolutionary Brahmans advocating supremacy of the priestly class. Since this time and up to the rise of the Guptas in the Second Century after Christ, there is a long list of Brahmanical emperors and kings both in the north and in the south of India. It seems that Brahmanical hierarchy and claim to sanctity firmly began to be rooted in these ages. It must be during these times that the right of the Brahmans as the first Varna and superior to all took final shape. Otherwise how can the rights of a sacerdotal class which is subservient to others for its maintenance can be so firmly established unless and until the right is asserted and maintained by the force of the state. The Greco-Roman priests, the Jewish Rabbi, the

43 K. P. Jayaswal, "*The Ages of Manu* and *Jagnavalka*". Narada Samhita says that Sumati Varghava made an abridgement of the ancient Manu text. *Vide* Jolly, "Recht und Sitte", p. 21.

Persian Magi, the Egyptian priests, the Celtic Druids did not put up such claims, though with some of these races the priestly offices became hereditary in some families. The nearest approach to such a claim took place in the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages when the Church was also a temporal state[44] having state-force to back its claims. It seems that the solution of the query of finding out the origin of the divine claim of the Brahmans lies here and not in the "Purusha Sukta" or the magical power of the priest. The spiritual claim of superiority can only be substantiated by mighty worldly power as "God is on the side of heaviest artillery". If the claim of Magical Power or Necromancy or Divination or the prohibition known as Taboo or the fear of Mana be the force to build up an exclusive arrogant caste, then why is it that such castes did not spring up elsewhere where these factors were present ?

Again we find an oppressive Brahmanical priesthood in South-India. Was this tyranny self-imposed on themselves by the non-Brahmans of the South ? Did these people inflict these curses on themselves in order to have the satisfaction of calling themselves as "Hindus" when we know Buddhism and Jainism held their sway over there as well. (Jainism is still existing in Mysore). Did the Sudras and the Pariahs who with their complicated social system seem to have seen better days[45] willingly fall into the degradation in which they are still now in order to have the satisfaction of calling themselves as "low castes" or "untouchable Hindus" ? The clue to this situation seems to lie in the monopoly of the state power enjoyed by the Brahmans in South India from the day of Satavahana Dynasty down to Vijayanagar Empire.[46] If we peruse the long lists of the ruling dynasties reigning there from the Andhra

44 *Vide* Pope Hillebrandt's treatment to emperor Henry IV.

45 *Vide* J. Perry, *Children of the Sun*, p. 116.

46 Studies in Vijayanagara Polity. in Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society vol. V. p. 80.

claimed divine origin for their powers to support their absolutism. But the Hindu theory was propounded not as a claim for absolutism or autocracy. The view was that the king was an incarnation of God on earth for the support of the people by ruling over them righteously. Kṛṣṇa Rāya observes : "Manu, Daṇḍadhara and others became known as followers of *Dharma* only by finding out the mistakes of the subjects and punishing them. The anointed king who is equal to God and who is created by God (*Prajāpati*) in various forms for the purpose of ruling the subjects is known by various terms which are sanctioned by the Vedas as *Virāṭ*, *Samrāṭ*, and should put up with the trouble and relieve the sufferings of the people ".[51] Really it is difficult to call such a king an autocrat, a king who was actuated in his actions by his keen sense of moral responsibility to his people.

This apart, there were more visible checks on the king. One of them was the organised community itself. It is said that one of the characteristics of the present day political theory is its reaction against the State and a salient political fact is the increasing amount and power of group life, trade unions, and professional societies, citizens' leagues, and neighbourhood associations. Such leagues and guilds were not unknown in ancient and mediaeval India. There were the associations of the *nānādēśis*, the *nāds*, the *ayyavōle*, craft guilds, the groups of ninety-eight sects, each of which had a definite organisation. They made rules and regulations for themselves and the State did not interfere with their functions except when there arose misunderstandings among them. The Central government was content with the exercise of a supervisory control over them. As Radhakumud Mookerji observes, " it is the quasi-instinctive postulates and conventions of group-life which come to be formulated as *law* and not the mandate, command or decree of a single central authority in the state. Law, under these conditions, is not an *arte-fact*, but a natural growth of consensus and communal life." [52]

An interesting inscription from Viriñcipuram in the North Arcot district describes a regulation made by a few communities for themselves. The representatives of the Brahmans of the kingdom of Paḍaivīdu among whom Karnāṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa Brahmans are mentioned, signed an agreement to the effect that henceforth marriages among their families had only to be concluded

51. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 285.
52. *Nationalism in Hindu Culture*, pp. 99-100.

by *Kanyādāna*, i.e., that the father had to give his daughter to the bridegroom gratuitously, and that both the father who accepted money and the bridegroom who paid money for the bride should be punished by the king and excommunicated from their caste.[53] Thus the communities made regulations for themselves and the king's duty was only to enforce them.

Custom and public opinion contributed their share to check the royal authority. The differences in the practices of the people are attributable to the peculiar local customs prevailing in the different parts of the empire. Taxation was based more on custom than on any definite scientific principles. There was no uniformity in the weights and measures in the empire. It was difficult for the king to make any innovation or regulation contrary to the accepted customary usages of the communities and peoples whom the new innovation would affect.

An undated record which seems to belong to the fifteenth century, coming from Peṉṉāḍam in the South Arcot district, states that any one introducing or using in the locality a measuring rod other than the *mūvāyiravaṉkōl* (whose linear measurement is indicated by two marks cut on the stone about fifteen feet apart) was to be awarded the same punishment as *śivadrōhins*, *grāmadrōhins* and *nāṭṭudrōhins*. There seem to have been several measuring rods in use in the different parts of the empire. Any standardisation with regard to these measures was looked upon with suspicion. Any innovation proposed in the standard measures prevalent in a locality was considered so heinous a crime as to be classed with *nāṭṭudrōham*.[54]

An examination of the formidable list of taxes under the Vijayanagar kings will reveal the fact that they were based largely on custom. Payments made to the overlord by the tenant or by the subject to the government were largely customary dues. Custom governed the sales of land. Along with the land sold were given away all the customary dues and periodical forced contributions to the purchaser. The State could not interfere in these things.

Another equally important factor that acted as a check on royal authority was public opinion. Even the most autocratic government cannot set public opinion at naught. Any new

53. See *S.I.I.*, 1, No. 56.
54. 249 of 1928; *Rep.*, para 78.

venture or policy undertaken even by the most powerful of kings should have the moral support either implied or expressed of the people over whom he ruled. In India this opinion was expressed by the people not by placing any constitutional obstruction in the way of the smooth working of the government, but by their peaceful and silent evacuation of the occupied territories. The levying of fresh taxes was opposed by the people in that way. In the history of the Vijayanagar empire such evacuations were not infrequent. Especially the occupation of the southern portions of the empire by the Kannaḍiyas[55] was detested by the people.

An incomplete record coming from Tiruveṇṇainallūr in the South Arcot district states that as the shepherds in charge of the temple cattle in Tiruvadi śirmai were unable to pay the *sadakkaḍaimai* tax and migrated to other places, their tax was reduced by Aramvaḷartta Nāyaṇār, the agent of Narasā Nāyaka, to 1½ *paṇams* per year per *payir*, a particular unit.[56] Finding that public opinion was not in favour of the continuation of the marriage tax payable by the bride and bridegroom at the time of marriage of a virgin, the enlightened sovereign Kṛṣṇa Rāya remitted it. There are many records which praise not only the king but also the local influential people for this remission.[57]

A very important check on royal authority was the Royal Council. The kings were never without this Council which advised them in the affairs of state. They consulted it on state matters and policy. It was this Council that performed the coronation of the king and conducted the administration of the country. Under weak kings it rose to great influence and power. In fact, the Council was dominated by one strong minister, the *Pradhāṇi*. Rāma Rāja's influence in Sadāśiva's court is seen from the details disclosed by a lithic record which states that he made the ministers perform the coronation of Sadāśiva. That even powerful kings like Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya consulted the Council before undertaking any work is borne out by the evidence of the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu*, which states that soon after his coronation Kṛṣṇa Rāya enquired of his ministers about the amount of his imperial revenue, and strength of his army, and they furnished him with the necessary

55. S. K. Aiyangar thinks that they were the Hoyśālas. But they were more probably the Tuḷuvas who appear to have migrated to the east with Timma, the grandfather of Narasā Nāyaka, and entered the service of the Sāḷuvas.

56. 450 of 1921.

57. 387 of 1904; E.C., XII, Mg. 64.

information.[58] Again according to the same work, after inflicting a defeat on the Muhammadans the king consulted Sāḷuva Timma on the advisability of proceeding further into the Mussalman territories, and when the minister advised him not to undertake such a rash task the king accepted the advice.[59]

In estimating the character of the Vijayanagar administration, Vincent Smith remarks that " the Vijayanagar king was an autocrat of the most absolute possible kind unrestrained by any form of check."[60] Iswari Prasad says it was an autocracy, and observes that the needs of the empire determined the character of the government.[61] But we cannot judge the character of an administration from the needs felt at the time. It is true that what was required in the Vijayanagar period was a strong and efficient army to arrest the Muhammadan aggressions and put down the turbulent feudal vassals, and hence the Vijayanagar kings were keen on improving the military organisation in the empire ; and they succeeded in that to a large extent. They recruited directly for the army, gathered feudal levies and effected some reforms in their army organisation on the lines of the Muhammadans. But such a policy calculated to improve the organisation and efficiency of the military did not in any way affect the character of the government. The old and traditional view that the government was for the good of the governed still continued to actuate the motives and policy of the Vijayanagar kings. They had a paternal conception of their duties and obligations to their subjects. There might have been kings who did not care much for the good of the people, but they were very few and unpopular. In fact an epigraph of Harihara II says that he maintained the customs of the various castes and protected all his subjects as if they were his own children.[62] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was also influenced by this paternal conception of the duties of a king and his government towards the people, and tried to remove their difficulties and redress their grievances. His views on the duties of kings towards the subjects are available to us in his *Āmuktamālyada* where he says : " Be always intent upon protecting your subjects . . . ; the people of a country wish the welfare of the king who seeks the progress

58. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 130.
59. *Ibid*, p. 131.
60. *Oxford History of India*, p. 311.
61. *Med. Ind.*, p. 423.
62. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75.

and prosperity of the country.[63] The same view is expressed by Allasāni Peddana, the poet laureate of Kṛṣṇa Rāya's court, in his description of the ideal kingship of Svārociṣa Manu, the hero of his *Manucaritamu*. The poet says that the king Svārociṣa Manu "ruled over his subjects with kindness as if they were his own children."[64] It looks as though he has described here the rule of Kṛṣṇa Rāya, his patron. This passage reminds one of Aśoka's Borderer's Edict where the great emperor says: "All men are my children, and just as for my children I desire that they should enjoy all happiness and prosperity both in this world and in the next, so for all men I desire the like happiness and prosperity." Like feelings were held by the Vijayanagar sovereigns towards their subjects. They had the welfare of the governed at heart, and to this end they strained every nerve. If the machinery of the government is only a means to achieve an end—the good of the people—then the Vijayanagar government, being actuated by a paternal conception of its duties. ministered to the needs of the people and attended to their welfare.

Section II

The Imperial Council

The study of the old administrative institutions of any country is beset with many difficulties. When we begin to consider, for instance, the Imperial Council of Vijayanagar, certain problems present themselves for solution. The nature and composition of the Imperial Council, whether the members in it were hereditary or chosen otherwise, the qualifications expected of its members, how far the decisions of the Council were binding on the king—these may serve as examples of such problems.

Besides the Council of Ministers which advised the kings on matters of state, there seems to have been in existence another Council. But it does not seem to have been always with the king to advise him. The Vijayanagar empire being made up of a large number of provincial units, each under a *nāyaka* who held his office on a feudal basis from the king, it was but fair and right that the feudal vassals should be present at the imperial court at least on ceremonial occasions. There were also the pontifical heads and great scholars, bards, dancers, painters and others

63. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, vv. 205 & 206.
64. *Manucaritamu,* canto VI, v. 117.

depending on state patronage, who had to be honoured. The sentiments of the semi-independent rulers on the borders of the empire had to be respected. It seems likely that all these constituted the larger Council of the Vijayanagar kings.[65] The *Manucaritamu* mentions an assembly of Kṛṣṇa Rāya which was attended by the *amaranāyakas* and their representatives, rulers of subordinate territories, princes, *daḷavāys*, traders, and ambassadors from foreign kingdoms.[66] Kṛṣṇa Rāya also mentions an assembly which even the ambassadors from foreign countries attended.[67]

But its size should have been unwieldy for all practical purposes; nor could there have been in it men qualified to advise the king on matters of state. It was a House, membership in which gave dignity and honour to one who held it, in the same way as membership in the Privy Council in England gives great dignity to one at the present day. This Assembly of the Vijayanagar kings bears a distant resemblance to the *Commune Concilium* of the Norman kings in England. The presence of feudal vassals in this Imperial Assembly added strength to the king. It ensured the loyalty of the feudatory to the imperial house and his pledge of support to the imperial cause.

Apart from this larger assembly there was a Council smaller in size which the king was often obliged to consult in the administration of the empire. It was a permanent body which influenced the policy of the sovereign. In its constitution and powers it is analogous to the *Mantripariṣad* of Kauṭalya. It appears the Council generally met in a special chamber. According to the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam*, the Council met in a hall which was called *Veṅkaṭavilāsamaṇṭapa*.[68] It is perhaps the same building which Paes describes in the following words: "Thence he (the king) goes to a building made in the shape of a porch without walls, which has many pillars hung with cloths, up to the top, and with the halls handsomely painted. In such a building he despatches his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom and govern his cities, and his favourites talk with him".[69] Barbosa too mentions a Council room. He says: "The said king ....has a certain house as a hall of audience where he is

65. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, III, p. 13.
66. Canto I, vv. 12-13.
67. *Āmukta.*, canto I, 18-4-259.
68. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 162.
69. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

present on certain days with his governors and officers to hear the correspondence and attend to the administration of the kingdom."[70]

It is difficult to determine the numerical strength of this Council. It must have varied from time to time. Nuniz tells us that the nephew of Dēva Rāya II was one of the twenty ministers of the king. From the somewhat confused account of Nuniz[71] we are led to think that the near relatives of the king were also members of the Ministerial Council. They could not have been in charge of any department of administration but seem to have been in it on account of their blood relationship with the ruling sovereign. The number of the ministers is not however definitely known. But it was the practice both in ancient and in mediaeval Hindu governments to fix it somewhere about eight or ten. It was on such a principle traditionally followed that the *Aṣṭapradhān* Council of Śivāji was formed.

The ministers had their own official designations. From the inscriptions of the period we can infer that the following were some of the most important officers of the Vijayanagar State, who served as the ministers of the king. The *Pradhāni* who was at times called *Mahāśirah Pradhāni*,[72] the *Upapradhāni*,[73] the *Dala-adhikāri* or *Daṇṇāyaka*,[74] the *Sāmantādhikāri*[75] and a few others were such ministers. The heads of some administrative departments also seem to have had seats in the Ministerial Council. The poet Candrakavi mentions in his *Virūpākṣāsthāna*, a *Campū* that describes the court of the God Virūpākṣa, that Gururāya who was known as Rāyabhandāri Nārāyaṇa (Royal treasurer, Nārāyaṇa) was a minister of the king.[76] That the Council consisted of a few influential ministers and a few less important ones gains support from the Kṛṣṇāpuram plates of Sadāśiva Rāya which state that Rāma Rāja and a few other *chief* ministers (amātya tilakāḥ) performed the coronation of Sadāśiva.[77]

Thus the Council appears to have consisted of two classes of advisers, (a) the Prime Minister and the other heads of the

70. Dames, *Barbosa*, I, pp. 208-209.
71. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
72. *E.C.*, III, Tn. 120.
73. 689 of 1922.
74. *E.C.*, XII, Tm. 71.
75. *E.C.*, IX, Dv. 29.
76. Narasimhacharya, *Karnātaka Kavi Carite*, II, p. 81.
77. *E.I.*, IX, p. 334, l. 71.

departments, and (b) a few blood relations of the king. If these two classes of members had seats in the State Council, then, the estimate of Nuniz that the king had twenty ministers cannot be wrong.

Ancient Indian *nīti* writers insisted upon the Cabinet being small; Kauṭalya says for instance that the Council should not consist of more than three or four councillors.[78] In times of war when action was more important than deliberation, the Council must have been as small as possible.

But the *Purohita*, who, in ancient India had an important place in the Ministerial Council of the king and commanded great respect,[79] does not seem to have exercised the same influence and power in mediaeval India. He became more and more the religious *guru* (preceptor) of the kings, not taking much interest in the administration and polity of the empire.

This *Mantripariṣad* had a President, *Sabhānāyaka*, to preside over its deliberations. Possibly the Prime Minister was the president of the Council. This is indicated by a lithic record which states that Tippada Nāgaṇṇa who was the Senior Minister of Bukka I, was the Lord of the Council (*Sabhānāyaka*).[80] We do not know exactly what connection the king had with the meetings and deliberations of this Council, whether it was he that convened its meetings or the Prime Minister with the knowledge and approval of the king. The evidence at our disposal shows that the king himself convened the meetings to discuss certain questions. The instances of Dēva Rāya summoning " a council of his nobility and principal Brahmans " to concert measures for improving the Vijayanagar army, and Kṛṣṇa Rāya conferring with his ministers on the eve of his wars against the Gajapati, are good illustrations of this procedure.[81] The Lord of the Council (*Sabhānāyaka*) might have presided over it in the absence of the king.

Strict secrecy was kept with regard to the deliberations of the Cabinet. According to the *Kauṭalīya* even birds and animals like parrots, dogs, and deer, were not allowed near the place where the Cabinet of ministers met.[82] The *Āmuktamālyada* too

78. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 15.
79. *Ibid.*, Bk. I, Ch. 9.
80. E.C., VI, Mg. 25.
81. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 430; Sewell. *op. cit.*, pp. 324-25.
82. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 15.

stresses the principle of the maintenance of secrecy with regard to the deliberations and proceedings of the Cabinet.[83]

A high qualification was expected of the minister. A minister was to be a scholar, afraid of *adharma*, well versed in *rāja nīti*, between the ages of fifty and seventy, and healthy in body and one whose connection with the king had come down from previous generations, and one who was not conceited. Kṛṣṇa Rāya assures that under such a minister, the *aṅgas* of a king (the constituents of royalty) would increase in a single day.[84] It is also said in the *Neeraratnamulu* that the king should possess a versatile minister for, if he possessed one such, he would find uses for his sword and deed.[85] From the known facts about the ministers of the Vijayanagar kings, we cannot dismiss this as a mere ideal aimed at by the rulers. The history of the Vijayanagar empire furnishes us with a long line of successful and efficient ministers who flourished in the period. The hereditary principle seems to have been recognised with regard to the choice of ministers. Generally, the king chose his ministers, and in that choice their previous connection with the royal house was taken into consideration. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya insists on the previous connection of the minister with the ancestor of the ruling king.[86] The royal poet also says that a king should not allow into his secret counsels an officer who had been made a lord recently, lest he should feel proud of the favours shown to him and reveal the state secrets.[87] Many of the Vijayanagar ministers were in office during the reigns of successive kings. Mudda Daṇḍanātha was the Prime Minister both under Bukka I and Harihara II.[88] The latter is said to have inherited from his father the wealth of the kingdom and the city together with Mudda Daṇḍanātha.[89] Similarly Sāyaṇa was the minister of both Bukka I[90] and Harihara II.[91] Nāgappa Daṇṇāyaka who was minister of Dēva Rāya I[92]

83. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 252.
84. *Ibid.*, canto IV, v. 211.
85. *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari*. p. 36; *Mys. Gaz.*, New Edn., Vol. II, Pt. iii, p. 1712.
86. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 211.
87. *Ibid.*, canto IV, v. 260.
88. *E.C.*, V, Cp. 256.
89. *Ibid.*, Bl. 75.
90. *I.A.*, XLV, p. 22.
91. *Ibid.*
92. 345 of 1905.

continued to be the minister of Dēva Rāya II.[93] Thus instances can be multiplied where one individual was minister under successive kings. But it cannot be said that ministers and kings were always on friendly terms. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in a paroxysm of fury blinded and put into prison not only Sāḷuva Timma, his trusted minister, but also his son Timmaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka and brother Govinda Rāja suspecting them of having murdered his young son Tirumala.

The Ministerial Council was a strong and powerful body. There were rival interests in the Council, and hence the king needed to have a close watch over its discussions and deliberations. According to the *Āmuktamālyada*, if a few ministers in the Council opposed the advise of a particular minister out of spite, then the king was to dissolve the Council, and follow the advice of the minister whose proposition was opposed in the Council.[94] He was also expected to use his good sense in the administration of the kingdom without too often consulting undesirable ministers " who being devoid of virtues would prove a source of trouble in the same way as the pearl which is as big as a pumpkin when worn ".[95]

Kṛṣṇa Rāya like Kauṭalya suggests that the king should watch the actions of his ministers through his spies, lest they should undertake unnecessary and unprofitable works under the presumption that they were in the good books of the king.[96]

The members of the Council anointed the king[97] and guided the administration. Strong kings may at times have curtailed its powers and freedom by their domineering personality and force of will ; but under weak kings its influence and power were great, and it had complete control over the policy of the state. Even the strong and able monarch Kṛṣṇa Rāya felt that the Council was too powerful and that the king was a puppet in its hands. The king felt that he was a toy in the hands of his ministers and is said to have remarked in one of his soliloquies : " I am sitting on the throne, but the world is ruled by the ministers ; who listens to my words ?"[98]

93. *E.C.*, XI, Dv. 29.
94. *Āmukta*, canto IV, v. 227.
95. *Ibid.*, vv. 212 and 213.
96. *Ibid.*, v. 265.
97. *E.I.*, IX, pp. 334 and 340.
98. *Rāyavācakamu*, *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, III, p. 30.

It would be interesting to examine here how far the decisions or advice of the Council were binding on the king. The monarch was expected to seek the advice of the Council on all important matters of state, but not all monarchs took the advice of the Council, and some may have even converted the Council to their way of thinking. If Nuniz is to be believed, Kṛṣṇa Rāya ignored the advice of his Council with regard to the campaign he led into the territory of Ydalcao. When "the lords of his Council" told the king that the reason for which he invaded the Bijapur territory was very small and that "he should think of what would be said and talked of throughout the world", he did not listen to their advice. Hence the Councillors seeing him "unmoved from his determination to make war" let him have his way, and contented themselves with making a few suggestions with regard to the route he was to take.[99] From such an instance as this we can reasonably assume that the king, if he had the strength of will and tenacity of purpose, could have his way and make the Council submit to his will.

Another question that interests us is the tenure of the ministers. The Prime Minister seems to have been in office so long as he was in the confidence of the king. There does not seem to have been any definite period during which one could be the minister of the king. Everything depended upon the ability of the individual. Further many of these ministers were appointed as provincial governors as well. Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka the great minister of Dēva Rāya II for instance during his period of office was also the governor of some province or other.

In some of the Vijayanagar inscriptions we get reference to the official designations such as the *Upapradhāni*,[100] the *Pradhāni*,[101] the *Mahāpradhāni*,[102] the *Śirapradhāni*,[103] and the *Sarvaśirapradhāni*[104] which seem to point to a ministerial hierarchy.

The *Pradhāni*, as also the great officers of state bore the title *Daṇḍanāyaka*. The word *Daṇḍanāyaka* admits of two interpretations: (i) "the leader of the forces" and (ii) "the lord of the

99. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-25.
100. 689 of 1922.
101. 681 of 1922.
102. 117 of 1901.
103. *E.C.*, IX, Dv. 29 and *E.C.*, III, Nj. 88.
104. *E.C.*, III, Tn. 120.

administration."[104a] The assumption of the official designation *Daṇḍanāyaka* by the great officers of state can be traced to the Gupta days. Speaking about the *Daṇḍanāyaka* of the Gupta period, Fleet calls him the "leader of the forces."[105] But Jayaswal has clearly shown that this interpretation is wrong and that the word means "lord of the administration, for the ministers who bear that title in the inscriptions were civilian officers as proved by their other title."[106]

This interpretation is applicable to the Vijayanagar *Daṇḍanāyaka* as well. During that period in Vijayanagar the *Pradhānis* besides the officers of state were known as *Daṇḍanāyakas*. From this title however we cannot say that the bearers of the same were the leaders of the forces, for they appear to have been the lords of the administration. In the Vijayanagar days the designation for the *Senāpati* of ancient India was *Daḷa-da-adikāri* or *Daḷavāy*.[107] At times he was also called a *Sarvasainyādhipati* (Commander-in-Chief of all the forces). For instance an inscription mentions Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka as the *Mahāpradhāna* of Śrī Vīrapratāpa Dēva Rāya Mahārāya and Cāma Nṛpāla as the Commander-in-Chief of all the forces (*Sarvasainyādhikāri*) of the same king.[108] Here the point we have to note is that the *Mahāpradhāni*, who was a *Daṇḍanāyaka*, is mentioned as a separate officer having probably nothing direct to do with the army organization, and another officer Cāma Nṛpāla by name is said to have been the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the empire. This distinction between the *Mahāpradhāni* and the *Sarvasainyādhikāri* indicates in no uncertain terms that while the former, a *Daṇḍanāyaka*, was an administrative officer and the Prime Minister of the king, the latter was a military commander in charge of the army. Then again Abdur Razāk tells us that it was the *daṇṇaik* (*Daṇḍanāyaka*) that was the judge at the imperial headquarters.[109] It is difficult to believe that a *Daṇḍanāyaka*, if we take the word to mean "a leader of the forces" along with Fleet, could have been a judge; if it had really been so then in the Vijayanagar empire, there could not have been any justice, but only military auto-

104a. *Daṇḍa* means both an army and a judicial punishment.—Ed.
105. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 16, *fn.*
106. *Hindu Polity*, pt. II, p. 149.
107. *E.C.*, XII, Tm. 71.
108. *E.C.*, XI, Dv. 29.
109. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 108.

cracy.[110] The *Pradhāni* who generally bore the title *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* was thus an administrative officer in charge of the the general administration of the empire. This is supported by a few other names by which, for instance, he was generally known. Sāḷuva Timma for instance is called in an inscription the great minister, the *Tantranāyaka*.[111] This designation seems to mean the lord of the government, for *tantra* means government (execution) as opposed to *mantra* (deliberation). Many of the *Pradhānis* were also called the *Kāryakarta*[112] or the *Kāryattuku Kaḍavar*,[113] *Kāryattukku Karttārada*[114] or the *Rājyabhāradhurandhara* (the bearer of the burden of the kingdom.)[115] Such designations as these clearly show that the *Pradhāni* who was generally called a *Daṇḍanāyaka* was an administrative officer in charge of the general administration of the empire.[116]

But how are we to explain the military duties and obligations of the Prime Minister ? Dēva Rāya II's minister, Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka, led an expedition to Ceylon. In the wars of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Sāḷuva Timma took a leading part. Nuniz tells us that the latter followed the king in his wars and took a leading part in them, and that his contingent consisted of 60,000 foot, 3,500 horses and 30 elephants to the Raicūr campaign. Not only had the Prime Minister such military obligations, but also all the important officers of state in the empire had similar obligations. Instead of being paid in cash these great officers of state were granted districts or small areas which they ruled on behalf of the

110. See *infra*, chapter on *Law and Justice*.
111. *E.C.*, XII, Mg. 64.
112. *E.C.*, X, Ml. 5.
113. *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 52.
114. *E.C.*, IX, Ma. 11.
115. 245 of 1913.
116. Nelson in describing the administrative system of the Nāyaks of Madura expresses the view that the two offices of the *Pradhāni* and *Daḷavāy* of the king were originally distinct but were amalgamated only under Viśvanātha Nāyaka. (V. Rangachari, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 113, and R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *The Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 235). In the light of the above evidence it is difficult to believe that the duties of the *Pradhāni* and the *Daḷavāy* were fused together at that period to secure "military efficiency" in the administration (Nelson). It is of course true that Nelson makes his observations only on the system of administration under the Nāyaks of Madura, but inasmuch as that was largely a copy of the Vijayanagar system his remarks are as much applicable to the Vijayanagar system as to that of the Madura Nāyaks.

king and their remuneration consisted of the difference in the amount of money they collected from the people and the money they paid to the imperial exchequer as their tribute or contribution. They were also required to maintain for the king a definite quota of the military.

This practice is to some extent analogous to the *Mansabdar* system in the Mughal period Under the Mughals the high officers of state had a double function—civil and military. *Mansabdar* simply means "holder of a place" from the Arabic word *Mansab* (place) which was imported from Turkistan and Persia.[117] Each *Mansabdar* was required to furnish the king with a certain portion of the military. The importance of the office one held in the state varied with the number of horses and foot he maintained for the state. A system analogous to this appears to have obtained in the Vijayanagar empire also.

The *Pradhāni*, the fore-runner of the Maratha Peshwa, had a very important place in the State. Speaking about Sāḷuva Timma, the great minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Paes writes: "He commands the whole household and to him all the greatest lords act as to the king."[118] And Nuniz observes that Sāḷuva Timma was the principal person in the kingdom.[119] An inscription from Paruttipalli in the Salem district mentions Narasane Nāyaka Uḍaiyār to be the agent of the king Dharma Rāya Mahārāya, and says he was actually ruling for him (pṛthvīrājyam paṇṇum),[120] while another from Bāpatla describes Sāḷuva Timma as Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's own body, and says that he bore the title *Dharaṇīvarāha*.[121] The *Pradhāni* remitted taxes and appointed the governors of provinces. Perumaḷidēva Daṇṇāyaka Uḍaiyār, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Dēva Rāya II, remitted certain taxes on the lands in Āvali in Kalavaiparru for conducting certain festivals in a temple.[122] A record of Harihara II coming from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa in the South Canara district, informs us that Basavaṇṇa Uḍaiyār was governing the Bārakūru rājya under the orders of *Mahāpradhāna* Gōpayya Daṇṇāyaka.[123] The *Mahāpradhāni* appears to have been assisted by an

117. V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 362.
118. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
120. 143 of 1915.
121. 186 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 146.
122. 497 of 1926.
123. 400 of 1927-28.

Upapradhāni in the administration of the vast empire. One Sōmarasa, for instance, was the *Upapradhāni* when Sāḷuva Timma was the Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[124] Another inscription of Ś. 1450 (A.D. 1528-29) mentions one Vīra Narasiṁharāya Nāyaka, son of Taluvakkulaindām Bhaṭṭar as the *Ubhayapradhāni.*[125]

SECTION III

The Secretariat

A vast empire like that of Vijayanagar could not have been ruled simply by a king assisted by a Council. The dry details of the administration must have been attended to by an efficient secretariat staff. The secretariat must have been divided into various departments each in charge of a part of the administration. The inscriptions of the period do not, however, enlighten us very much on this point; though we get occasional references to such departments as the military and treasury, we are not able to know exactly the number of such departments or their relations to one another. Abdur Razāk who saw the working of the secretariat at the imperial headquarters has a few words to say about it. He says: "On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan (Vijayanagar emperor) there is the dīwān khāna or minister's office, which is extremely large and presents the appearance of a chihal situn or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated."[126] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya also appears to have understood the value of a big secretariat for he says in his *Āmuktamālyada*: "When the work of a single (subordinate) officer is entrusted to a number of men and when each of them is assisted by his friends the business of the state may easily be accomplished. Their satisfaction (with the king) increases or decreases with the increase or decrease of their number. Nothing can be achieved without the willing cooperation of several officers; to keep them docile and obedient truthfulness and the absence of niggardliness and cruelty are helpful."[127]

124. 186 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 146; see also 689 of 1922 for another reference.
125. 233 of 1901; *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 184; *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 447.
126. Elliot, *Hist. of India,* IV, p. 107.
127. Canto IV, vv. 214-15.

An office called the *Rāyasam*, and its officials are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. The term *Rāyasam,* which is a popular form of *vrāyasam*, means literally the profession of writing. There appears to have been an office of that name in Vijayanagar; and people employed in this office generally prefixed the name of the office to their personal names, and this in course of time was transformed into their surname. *Rāyasam* Koṇḍamarasayya and his son and grandson, Timmarasayya and Ayyaparasayya, respectively adopted in this manner the term *Rāyasam* as a family name. The officer called *Rāyasasvāmi,* mentioned in a Mysore inscription,[128] was apparently its head. It is not possible to definitely fix the position of the *Rāyasam* in the administrative machinery of the empire. The office was probably a secretariat attached to the person of the king. Persons attached to the department rose to high positions, and became ministers of state.[129] Nuniz, who refers to these *Rāyasams* as 'secretaries', gives an account of their duties. The Vijayanagar sovereigns never issued written orders to their governors or servants, nor did they make grants in writing. But they had their own 'secretaries' who wrote what the kings said and the favours they bestowed. Nuniz gives a clear description of how the orders of the kings were carried out. He says: "When he (the king) confers a favour on any one it remains written in the registers of his secretaries. The king, however, gives the recipient of the favour a seal impressed in wax from one of his rings which the minister keeps and these seals serve for letters patent."[130] These 'secretaries' who always remained with the king and noted all he said or did, resemble the *Tiruvāykēḻvis* of the Cōḻa inscriptions who had similar duties to discharge.[131] The evidence of epigraphy corroborates the prevalence of this practice in the Vijayanagar days. An inscription at Tirukōyilūr in the South Arcot district registers that certain lands in the three banks out of 12 banks in the village (Tirukōyilūr) were sold at a loss to the temple of Tiruviḍaikaḻināyaṉār by the tenants, owing to their inability to pay the taxes, and that when Immaḍi Narasā Nāyaka visited the temple on a dvādaśi day, he made these lands tax free, and ordered the profits thereon to be utilised for offerings and worship to the God on certain days every

128. *E.C.*, XII, Pg. 69.
129. 336 of 1915; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 230
130. Sewell, *op. cit.,* p. 375.
131. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions of South India,* p. 253; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Cōḻas,* ii, p. 235.

month. Immaḍi Narasayyadēva and Vīramarasayya Pallavarāyaṉ are mentioned as the king's 'secretaries' to whom the above *oral orders* were given.[132]

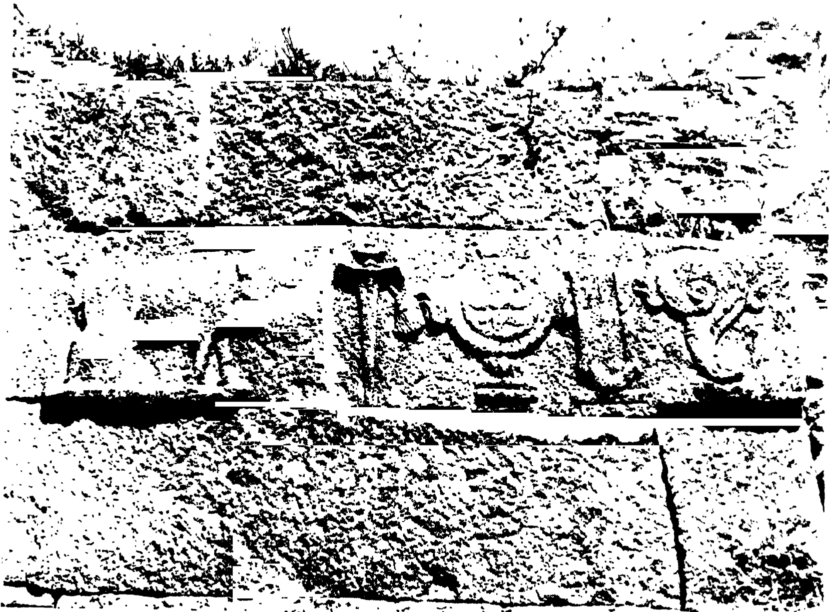
Kāraṇikkam is another office which is frequently mentioned in the Vijayanagar inscriptions. The word *karaṇikkam* means an accountant. There was scarcely an institution or office during the Vijayanagar times which was without its staff of *karaṇikkams*. Even the office of the Rāya's harem had its *karaṇikkam*. Mangarasayya, the *Vāśal karaṇikkam* of Immaḍi Narasiṁha and Kṛṣṇa Rāya, is mentioned in a few inscriptions of the North Arcot district,[133] which indicate that the *Vāśal karaṇikkas* had some sort of connection, which it is difficult to determine at present, with the provincial government.

The king had a large number of officers in his establishment each of whom was assigned some work in the palace. The most important of them was the *Sarvanāyaka*. In a few inscriptions he was called *Maneyapradhāna* (House Minister).[134] He seems to have been charged with the duty of attending to the needs and conveniences of the king's household and had control over the palace establishment. He had a large number of servants under him, like the betel bearer with whose aid he discharged his duties.[135] It is interesting to note here that the same office of the *Sarvanāyaka* still exists in some Indian States though the name of the officer has undergone some change.

An officer called *Tirumandira Ōlaināyagam* is referred to in one of the records of the Madura Nāyaks of the late sixteenth century.[136] The officer is otherwise unknown in the Vijayanagar

132. 330 of 1921.
133. 84 of 1923; 52 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 52 in Vol. V, pp. 1515-16.
134. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 59.
135. These palace servants included men belonging to the domestic establishment of the palace, and also those who were there to maintain the dignity of the king. In the former group were those in charge of the clothing, those who attended to lighting, gardeners, tailors, sweepers, and others; while the latter group consisted of the insignia bearers such as the bearer of the umbrella, bearer of the torch, and those who carried the cobda sticks (batons of honour). There were also in that group persons who at times of processions carried the paraphernalia of the king, such as the standard and the *jayabheri* (victory drum). There were a few who were in charge of the state horses and elephants. In this group also came the personal attendants of the king like the shoe-bearers and the holders of the insignia of *cauri* and *cāmaram*.—See *The Pudukkottai State Manual*, p. 446.
136. 187 of 1895; *S.I.I.*. V, No. 751.

To face page 39.



Crest of Vijayanagar Kings

times. Probably the Madura Nāyaks, who regarded themselves as successors of the Pāṇḍyas, revived an ancient office which was in vogue during the age of the Pāṇḍyan kings.

The officer in charge of the royal seal was a high dignitary in the state, and was necessarily one who was in the confidence of the king. He was known to epigraphy as the *Mudre* officer or *Mudra karta*.[137] To this group belonged two other officers who were known by the designations of *Ājñādhāraka* and *Ājñāparipālaka* executors of the orders of the king.[138]

Another important officer of the palace was the *Vāśal* or *Vāśal kāriyam*.[139] The office carried great dignity with it. Persons seeking audience with the king or entrance into the palace had to obtain the permission of this officer who appointed his men to guard the gates of the palace. Both Paes and Nuniz, call him 'the chief of the guard.'[140] In the battlefields he led a part of the force. Kāma Nāyaka, the chief guard of Kṛṣṇa Rāya, for instance, led the advance in the Raicūr campaign of the king 'with thirty thousand infantry-archers, men with shields, musketeers and spearmen and a thousand horse and his six elephants.[141] Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, the conqueror of Madura, was according to tradition, one such door-keeper under the Hoyśāla kings.[142] This important office under the Hoyśāla and the Vijayanagar kings reminds us of the office of the *Dauvārika* of the ancient Hindu courts.

137. 1 of 1917; *E.C.*, IV, Yl. 45; *M.A.R.*, 1926, No. 24.
138. *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 145; *E.C.*. III, Tn. 55.
139. 182 of 1922; 33 of 1928-29.
140. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 263 and 326.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 326, and 329.
142. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 374.

CHAPTER III

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

SECTION I

Sources of Revenue

"The revenue systems of the south while resembling those of the northern India in their broad outline present many distinctive features which alone would justify their independent treatment."[1]

Inscriptions are our main source for the study of the revenue system under the Vijayanagar kings. Almost every Vijayanagar inscription refers to some assignment of land, remission of the revenues, income from land, levy of fresh taxes, or the renewal of obsolete ones. Though the number of such inscriptions bearing on this subject is very large, yet there is great difficulty in handling them. Many of the inscriptions still remain unpublished, and of these only summaries are available in the Epigraphy Reports. It is true that these summaries and the connected remarks in the Reports are valuable, but the lack of the texts of the inscriptions handicaps the student greatly. Further even in the study of the published texts of the inscriptions, we experience some difficulty, for, there are in them technical terms which still await explanation. Another difficulty is the use of several terms signifying almost similar ideas or ideas which differ only in certain minute details which it is difficult to understand now. A few of the more important of such words used in the inscriptions are *kaḍamai*, *magamai*, *kāṇikkai*, *kaṭṇam*, *vari*, *pāṭṭam*, *irai*, *kaṭṭāyam*, etc. Still another difficulty we meet with is that we see one and the same inscription mentioning not only various dues or obligations to be met by an individual or an institution towards the government, but also communal contributions for certain specific social purposes, certain local cesses for meeting particular local expenses, and payments made to the overlord by the tenant for the lands he held of him. When these different dues to different persons are jumbled together in one inscription, we find it very difficult to analyse them under different heads. To add to all this, many of these payments were

1. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue Systems*, p. 165.

of a customary character, and as we often hear nothing more than their names, it is not easy to make out the exact nature of the contributions.

Besides the inscriptions of the period we have the writings of the foreign travellers who have left their accounts of the revenue administration under the Vijayanagar kings. Among such accounts those of Abdur Razāk, Nuniz, and Paes are indispensable. Especially Nuniz gives an account of the revenues of the Vijayanagar state, how they were collected through the 'captains', and how far the revenue policy of the Vijayanagar kings weighed heavily on the subjects. But one fact is worth noting here ; that is, the foreign writers, who did not know the real nature of the village life, rural organisation and the dues from the villages contented themselves with making prominent mention of the transit duties, excise and other dues payable on the import and export of merchandise to and from a city. Abdur Razāk for instance has nothing to say about the land tax, but he speaks only about the customs and the taxes on the prostitutes which struck him much. Hence they have not examined all the sources of revenue to the state, the differentiation between the imperial and the local revenues and other questions connected with the revenue administration of the state.

For purposes of convenient handling, we can classify the sources of the revenues of Vijayanagar under certain broad heads. They are:

1. The land tax
2. The tax on property
3. Commercial taxes
4. Profession taxes
5. Taxes on industries
6. Military contributions
7. Social and communal taxes
8. Judicial fines and such other income, and
9. Miscellaneous items of income

1. *Land Tax* : The most important of the sources of revenue was the land tax which still continues to be the mainstay of Indian finance. We may analyse this source of income to the state under the following heads :

(*a*) *Tax on wet crops* : All the wet crops were taxed by the government. In levying taxes on the lands certain factors were taken into consideration, such as the nature of the village and the

tenure of the land, the nature of the soil and the kind of crop raised on the soil. For instance, before the government levied the tax on a particular piece of land, it considered whether it was a *devadāna* (land belonging to a temple), or a *brahmadeya* (land belonging to the Brahmans), or was situated in a *daḷavāy agrahāra* (village granted for military service), or was in a *karagrāma* (revenue village).[2] Distinction was made between *kārpāśānam* land and *puṉpayir* land, and taxes were collected on the land according to the nature of the crops raised.[3] Even in the *kārpāśānam* lands, those that died in the planting (*naṭṭupāḻ*), those that yielded only blighted grains (*śāvi*), and those that were otherwise damaged (*aḻivu*) were not counted.[4] In the taxable land a distinction was made between paddy fields, uncultivated waste (newly brought under cultivation), forests reclaimed, and *kaḍaippū* lands (lands on which only the last crop is raised) and lands irrigated by lifting water. The government also considered if they were wet lands on which were grown plantain and sugarcane, or were *paḍugaitākku* (banks of rivers) where these were grown, or marshes in which red lotuses were grown, or lands producing brinjals (*vaḻudilai*), pumpkins, turmeric, ginger, onions, garlic, *nelluparutti*, castor seeds, *varaguparutti*, mustard, Bengal gram, wheat and *kuśumbai* (*carthamus tinctorius*), *ērivāy*, *tāṅgalvāy* and *puḻudi*, (lands producing) gram (*kāṇam*), paddy and *śāmbalādi* and a large number of others crops.[5] There was also some differentiation made between wet crops being raised on wet lands and wet crops being raised on dry lands.[6]

(*b*) *Tax on dry crops*: Similarly a tax on the dry crops and edible vegetables (*maḷabraya*) was also levied.[6a] Here too a distinction was made between the dry crops raised on dry lands and dry crops raised on wet lands (*nañjai*).[7] Further a difference was made between the various crops raised on the dry land. Of the *puṉpayir* (dry crops), *pāḻ*, *śāvi* and *aḻivu* were not counted as in the case of the wet crops. Areca palm (*kamuku*), cocoanuts, jack trees,[8] *karṇṇu*, *vaippu* (margosa), *koḻundu*, *vāḻai* (plantain trees),

2. *E.C.*, III, Sr. 6.
3. 54 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
4. *Ibid.*, para 44 *fn.* 1.
5. *Ibid.*, para 44.
6. 91 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68.
6a. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79. See Wilson, *Glossary*, s.v. *Maḷā*.
7. 91 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68.
8. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44 and *fn.*

karumbu (sugar-cane), *mañjaḷ* (turmeric), *iñji* (ginger), *śeṅkaḻunīr* (flower) and other *vāṉpayir* (minor cultivation) were also taxed.[9] According to a record of Ś 1311 from Tiruveṇṇainallūr, a tax called *tōṭṭapuravu* (tax from garden lands) also seems to have been collected from the people.[10] The above lists clearly show how, for purposes of assessment, the government carefully noted the nature of the crops raised and the nature of the land on which a particular crop was raised.

(c) *Allied charges*: We may include in this list certain other sources of revenue to the government which were in the nature of allied charges on the owners of land. A tax was levied on the shepherds as grazing fee. There seems to have been set apart certain portions near the village for the cattle to graze. A few inscriptions refer to this tax.[11]

There was levied a tax known as *vāśal paṇam*[12] on houses and house sites (*maṉai*).[13] In the imposition of the tax on houses the following points were considered, whether the house was a roofed one,[14] or *aḍaipputtālvu* (with small door ways ?),[15] or was a storied one or was one with inside verandah.[16]

(d) Besides these a few contributions were collected from people which were meant to cover the cost of the payment and maintenance of the village officers and the special messengers coming from the governmental headquarters. Among such collections were the *karaṇikka jōḍi*,[17] *talaiyārikkam*,[18] *nāṭṭu kaṇakkuvari*, *rāyasavarttanai*, *avasaravarttanai*,[19] *adhikāravarttanai*, *nōṭṭavarttanai*,[20] *nirūpaccambaḷam*[21] (pay of the *nirūpa* or the royal order carrier), *āḷukkunīrpāṭṭam*[22] (a tax for maintaining the person ap-

9. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 139.
10. 510 of 1921 ; *Rep.*, para 43.
11. 319 of 1921 ; *M.E.R.*, 1913, *Rep.*, para 56; *E.C.*, IV. Gp. 1.
12. 324 of 1911 ; *Rep.*, para 49. It appears that it was levied only on houses with a compound.
13. 203 of 1921 ; *Rep.*, para 41.
14. *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 2.
15. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304, ll. 133-34.
16. 585 of 1919.
17. 73 of 1888 ; *S.I.I.*, II, No. 23.
18. 55 of 1897 ; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 4.
19. *E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 139; *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
20. 103 of 1918.
21. 510 of 1921; *S.I.I.*, II, No. 23.
22. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 112.

pointed for regulating the supply of water to the fields), and *pāḍikāval*[23] (police duty or fee for maintaining the police).

(*e*) In ancient and mediaeval times the temples, choultries and other public institutions collected from the people some money for their maintenance and upkeep. Under such a head can be grouped the following taxes: *magamai*[24] (contribution formerly levied on merchants and cultivators for a temple now given optionally), *piḍārivari*[25] (a contribution to the temple of the village goddess,) *vibhūti kāṇikkai*[26] which was collected by the state, *āḍi paccai* and *kārttigai paccai,*[27] *kārttigai kāṇikkai*[28] and the *tiruppudiyīḍu*[29] (holy first fruits) and *prasāda kāṇikkai.*[30]

These taxes were collected by the local authorities on behalf of the imperial government and paid to the temples concerned; or in a few cases the temples themselves took these contributions directly from the people.

Method of Assessment

A careful study of the inscriptions of the period shows that the principle followed by the Vijayanagar kings with regard to the assessment varied with the crop raised on a particular piece of land and the part of the empire where the crop was raised, for the assessment depended on the locality and fertility of the soil. But one thing is clear that the assessment on a piece of land depended on its gross yield. This general practice is indicated by a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1673-74 wherein it is stated that a *magamai* tax was levied at the rate of one *nāḻi* on every *kalam* of produce.[31] From an inscription at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai in the Ālaṅguḍi taluk of the Pudukkōṭṭai State we learn that the government took five-tenths *share of the produce* from wet and dry lands which were the *devadānam tirunāmattukkāṇi* from Uḍaiyār Tirukkaṭṭaḷai-Īśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār.[32] Thus one of the factors in fixing

23. *I.P.S.*, 681; 244 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 40.
24. *M.A.R.*, 1916, para 96.
25. 117 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI. No. 71.
26. 389 of 1911; E.C., X, Bp. 18.
27. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.
28. 294 of 1910.
29. 35 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, I, No. 55.
30. 118 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 72.
31. Cp. 7 of 1923-24.
32. *I.P.S.*, 711. A valuable inscription at Paḻaṅkarai, also in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, registers an order issued by Śūraiyadēvar *alias* Kulaśēkhara

the assessment on land was the yield of the land.[33] But this practice does not seem to have been either universal in the empire or applicable to all cases both with regard to wet and dry crops.

Another basis of assessment on wet land was the sowing capacity of a unit of land used for wet crops. The inscriptions refer to certain measures, namely *kōḷagas* and *puṭṭis* which mean that a piece of land requires so many *kōḷagas* or *puṭṭis* of some seed to be sown. We are told for instance that the taxes on a *tūm* (a cubic measure in the Telugu districts) of land was 8 *varāhas*. This means in fact that the unit of land requiring a *tūm* of seed to be sown was assessed at eight *varāhas*.[34] Thus the quantity of seeds required for raising crops on a particular unit of land was also taken into consideration for purposes of assessment by the state.

While this was the principle with regard to the assessment on wet lands, the number of ploughs required for tilling the soil was taken into account for purposes of assessment on dry lands. An epigraph coming from Āḍuturai in the Trichinopoly district records the fixing of a graded rate of assessment on each *plough* of dry land.[35] But it does not seem that this was the only principle with regard to the assessment on dry land, for the principle followed for assessment on wet lands was at times followed for the dry lands as well. An inscription from the Kōlār taluk in the district of the same name mentions a *khaṇḍuga* of dry land,[36] which means that the said land had the sowing capacity of a *khaṇḍuga*.

According to tradition which is incorporated by Buchanan in his *Journey through Mysore, South Canara and Coorg* Kṛṣṇadēva

Toṇḍaimāṇār and his men to the residents of Pālaiyūr nāḍu in obedience to the commands of his father Piccai Toṇḍaimāṇār determining the rate of rent to be collected from the people. Here the phrase விளைந்த நிலத்துக்குள்ள பணம் is of great significance and interest to us, for it clearly shows that assessment on land was calculated on the extent of land harvested (*I.P.S.*, 784). But the reference here is to the rent and not to the tax.

33. Similarly the government demanded tax only on the quantity of merchandise actually sold. For instance Abdur Razāk observes: "The officers of the customs department levy a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part *when a sale is effected*; if they are not sold they make no charge on them whatsoever."

34. 21 of 1927-28.

35. 36 of 1913.

36. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 39. See Narasinga Rao, Ullal, *A Kisanwar Glossary*, pp. 164-65, for the different meanings of the term; Saletore, *Soc. and Pol. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, II, p. 442.

Rāya completely surveyed the whole of his empire for purposes of assessment and fixed the rates of taxes; and this tradition is confirmed by an inscription of the period of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya himself. A record dated A.D. 1513 in the Mysore district registers the grant of a village with all the wet and dry lands *according to former measurement.*[37] According to this inscription there appear to have been two measurements in the district and perhaps in the empire too. One was an old one according to which this particular grant was made, and the other was the new one which appears to have also been in existence on the date of this particular inscription. This piece of evidence clearly shows that the lands were systematically measured in the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya for purposes of assessment. Rice too after studying the Mackenzie Manuscripts came to this conclusion. He observes: "It appears that in the time of Krishna Rāya and Acyuta Rāya the revenues of the Vijayanagar State were first reduced to a regular form checked by ordinances, and a system of accounts and management introduced, calculated to improve the revenue of the empire gradually in yearly amount without distressing the inhabitants."[38]

As regards the measurement of the land there were local variations, and there was no one uniform rod in the empire. The inscriptions of the period mention a large number of measuring rods as having been in use then.[39] Even

37. *E.C.*, III, Nj. 195.
38. *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 578.
39. Some of the more important of such rods were the *nāḍaḷavukōl* (18 of 1899; A.D. 1365) at Tiruppukuḻi in the Chingleput district; *rājavibhāḍan kōl* (107 of 1923; A.D. 1374; 193 of 1916; A.D. 1438-39) at Tiruppukkuḻi and Mēlōttivākkam in the same district; the *panirandaḍi kōl*, the pole twelve feet long, (*I.P.S.*, 685; A.D. 1388) in the Tirumayyam taluk in the Pudukkōṭṭai State; *gandarāyagandan kōl* (357 of 1928-29; A.D. 1390) in and near Tiruppālaivanam in the Chingleput district; *māṇḍyas* (*Nel. Ins.*, Cp. 1; A.D. 1390-91) at Paracūr in the Nellore district; the *padinaraḍi kōl*, the pole sixteen feet long, (*I.P.S.*, 687; A.D. 1391-92) at Kuṉṉāṇḍārkōyil in the Pudukkōṭṭai State; the *Rājavibhādan Āḷapadinattaḍi kōl* (255 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 554; A.D. 1429) at Tiruvaiyāṟu in the Tanjore district; the *ūñjalpāṟai śarivutaḍi* (583 of 1893) in and about Koḻuñjuvāḍi in the Coimbatore district; the measuring rod of 30 and 20 feet (274 of 1916) in the South Arcot district; *gaṇḍaragaṇḍan kōl* (212 of 1916) at Tiruppukkuḻi in the Chingleput district; *mūvāyiravan kōl*, about 15 feet in length (249 of 1928-29; 15th century) in the South Arcot district; taḍi (*I.P.S.*, 715; A.D. 1477) marked by a sign used in and around Kāraiyūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State; the standard rod of 34 feet in the South Arcot district (237 of 1916; A.D. 1504); a pole 32 feet long (*Nel. Ins.*, Cp. 16; A.D. 1515) used in the Nellore district; a pole measuring 24 feet (51 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, IV. No. 50 in V, p. 54; A.D. 1535).

in the same place two rods seem to have been used almost at the same time. For instance from the inscriptions at Tiruppukuḻi we learn that there were two rods in use, one the *nāḍalavukōl* in A.D. 1365[40] and the other *rājavibhāḍaṉkōl* in A.D. 1374 and 1438-39[41], and at Tiruppālaivaṉam in the same district we learn that there was in 1390 a measuring rod which was known as the *gaṇḍarāyagaṇḍaṉkōl.*[42] The Vijayanagar government, however, tried to introduce some reform in the existing measuring rods, with a view to effect uniformity. According to an inscription at Kūgaiyūr in the South Arcot district, at one time the residents near Vṛddhācalam even went to the extent of migrating from the place when the government did not introduce a change in the measuring rod of the locality. This lithic record registers an order of Vāsudēva Nāyakkar Tirumalai Nāyakkar to the people of Magadai maṇḍalam fixing the length of the rod for measuring the wet and dry lands. Up to 1447, the date of the inscription, " lands in Magada maṇḍalam were measured by a rod 18 feet in length and assessed. This procedure having affected *rājagaram* and given room for theft and ruin, it was thought that if two feet more were added to the old measuring rod, the tax would become easy of payment and the cultivators would be in a flourishing condition and be able to answer for the *rājagaram.* On this representation it was ordered that the length of the measuring rod should thereafter be fixed at 20 feet, by increasing the length of the old rod by two feet ; that the lands, both wet and dry, should be measured out again by the new rod ; and the changes entailed noted in the account books ".[43]

But at Śrīmuṣṇam (South Arcot) we see a rod called the standard rod measuring 34 feet being used about 1504-05.[44] Thus there were local variations with regard to the unit for measuring lengths, each locality having its own rod. This want of a general uniform rod for the whole empire was the cause of great difficulty felt by the government in fixing a uniform rate of assessment on the land in all the parts of the empire.

Rates of Assessment

According to immemorial custom, the share of the state in the produce from a unit of land was one-sixth, of the Brahman one-

40. 18 of 1899.
41. 107 of 1923 ; 193 of 1916.
42. 357 of 1928-29.
43. 97 of 1918 ; *Rep.*, 1918, para 69.
44. 247 of 1916 ; *Rep.*, para 64.

twentieth and of the temple one-thirtieth, each of which was paid either in kind or in the money equivalent. Of the remaining three-fourths, one-fourth was retained by the cultivator for his share, while the balances of the gross produce went towards the expenses of cultivation. Wilks when discussing this question remarks that in the early days of the Vijayanagar dynasty Harihara's minister, Vidyāraṇya. published for the use of the officers of state, a manual founded on the text of Parāśara with a copious commentary in which the assessment of the land and the conversion of the grain revenue into money are elaborately dealt with. Briefly, he took the Śāstra rate of one-sixth of the crop as the government share, and assuming that the average out-turn was twelve times the seed sown, he distributed 30 *kuṭṭis* of paddy, the produce from 2½ *kuṭṭis* of land, as follows :

To the lord 1/4	..	7½
To the cultivator 1/2	..	15
To Sarkar 1/6	..	5
To temples 1/30	..	1
To Brahmans 1/20	..	1½
Total	..	30 *kuṭṭis*.

The shares of the temples and the Brahmans were collected by the Sarkar and paid over by it, so that the share payable by the landholder was really ¼ of the gross produce.[45] According to Wilks this was the system recommended by Vidyāraṇya for the guidance of king Harihara I and his officers at the beginning of the fourteenth century. But Harihara introduced a few changes in the system due to the difficulties experienced in adhering to these recommendations. He abolished the system of payment of the government share in kind, and insisted on the payment being made only in cash at a particular rate. This conversion of the payment in kind to payment in cash was "founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase and the value of grain."[46] Then as regards the assessment itself, he increased the rate. Thus "Harihara had recourse to the law of the Śāstras which authorised him by no very forced construction to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes which should compel

45. See *Historical Sketches of Mysore*, I. p. 95; *South Canara Manual*, pp. 94-96.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

him to seek relief by desiring to compound for their abolition by a voluntary increase of their landed assessment."[47] By so doing he did actually raise it by twenty per cent by his skill in applying to his calculations, a procedure which has been described by the Bombay High Court as "a thinly veiled violation of the law."[48]

But we have to examine here how far the account of Wilks is corroborated by the evidence of the inscriptions, which are the only source of information on this question of the rate of assessment in the Vijayanagar period, for the *Parāśaramādhavīya*, being an elaborate commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti*, deals more with the theoretical side of taxation than with the practical side of it.

Burnell is of opinion that the share of the state in the produce of the land in South India was generally one half though the normal share of the state in North India was one-sixth. He says: "There is ample evidence to show that Manu's proposition of one-sixth was never observed, and that the land tax taken not only by the Muhammadan but by the Hindu sovereigns also was fully one-half of the gross produce ".[49] Hayavadana Rao after a study of the relevant data comes to the conclusion that the assessment in the Vijayanagar days was very high, and remarks: " It seems....that Vijayanagar taxation was about seven times that of the British, or about 42 per cent, an estimate that agrees with the inference that the later Vijayanagar kings quite disregarded Mādhava's injunction of ¼ of the gross produce paid in cash and had in practice taken 50 per cent of it ".[50] Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar inclines to accept the view of Burnell.[51] The views of Ellis are marked by greater caution. He is content with pointing out that the tax was always more than the sixth or fourth permitted by the Sanskrit lawyers.[52]

As for the total income of the state, Rice says it was 81 crores of *Avakōṭi cakras* or *pagodas*[53] an estimate arrived at by him on a

47. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
48. *South Canara Land Assessment Case,* p. 84; quoted in the *South Canara Manual,* p. 96.
49. *South Indian Paleography,* p. 112, *fn.* 3.
50. *Ind. Ant.*, XL, pp. 271-72.
51. *Report on Forty Years of Progress in British India,* p. 10.
52. F. W. Ellis, *Replies to Seventeen Questions,* p. 4; A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India,* (1000-1500 A.D.), II, p. 674.
53. *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 578, *fn.* 1.

study of the manuscripts collected by Colonel Mackenzie. The *Carnāṭaka Rājākkaḷ Savistāra Caritram* or *A General History of the Indian Peninsula* states that during the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya the amount of revenue that had to be paid to the imperial treasury by eastern Carnāṭaka (as distinguished from Mysore, etc.) was three crores of rupees.[54] Varthema, speaking about the revenues of the kings of Vijayanagar, says : "This king of Narasinga is the richest king I have heard spoken of" and in another place says: "His Brahmins, that is, his priests, say that he possesses a revenue of 12,000 *pardai* per day."[55] Paes who visited Vijayanagar in 1520 says that Kṛṣṇa Rāya after retaining enough for his expenses and the expenses of the houses of his wives of whom he had 12,000, put in his treasury every year ten million *pardaos*.[56] Nuniz is of opinion that the feudatory nobles in the Vijayanagar empire paid to the king every year sixty lakhs of *pardaos* as royal dues, which was half of the gross income from the lands under the feudatories (120 lakhs or 12 millions of *pardaos*).[57] According to the *Burhān-i-Ma'sir* the revenue of "the accursed infidel" Sadāśiva Rāya was 120,000,000 *hūns*.[58] Even about A.D. 1611 Vijayanagar claimed good revenues. Antoine Vico for instance says : "The great Nayak of Madura and those of Tanjore and Ginji are themselves tributaries of Bisnagar, to whom they pay or have to pay an annual tribute of six to ten million *francs*."[59] Besides, the royal demesne yielded some revenue to the kings.

Contemporary inscriptions do not however throw much light on the question of the rate of assessment in the period. Though some of them specify the amount of the revenue realised from the land, others merely indicate that taxes were collected both in kind and cash. Further we do not know if the rate of assessment in a particular area was the same as in the other parts of the empire. However the following available details may be noted.[59a]

54. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p. 39.
55. Jones, *Varthema*, p. 129.
56. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 373.
58. *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 143.
59. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 293.
59a. According to a damaged epigraph of the cyclic year Dundhubhi, the exact date of which we are not able to know, it was agreed that the cultivators of lands below the tanks in the Koḍagattūr country were to give *śarivāram* (i.e., equal share of the produce to the owner) and pay a

A valuable inscription of A.D. 1429-30 found at Tiruvaigāvūr in the Tanjore district "registers the decision arrived at by the residents of Parāntakanāḍu, the *Valaṅgai* 98 sects and the *Iḍaṅgai* 98 sects regarding the various items of taxation that had to be paid to government (*rājagaram iṟaimuṟaimai*) or to the temple, as had been already settled by the inhabitants of the other *nāḍus* of Vaḻudalambaṭṭu uśāvaḍi...... It was decided that some specified lands in the district of Parāntakanāḍu which were rent-free were not to be interfered with, by classifying them as *paṇḍāravāḍai* (lands belonging to the state, crown lands) *jīvita paṟṟu, aḍaippu* (lands held in lease), *oṭṭi* (usufructuary mortgage), *guttagai* (contract of lease) and *śērvai* (service inām)." The rates of assessment were also fixed.[60]

specified fee for strengthening the tank bunds with stones and earth (197 of 1910). But this epigraph refers to the rent payable by the tenant to the landlord, and hence though we take the inscription to belong to the Vijayanagar period it is not of great value in determining the rate of taxes collected by the state. Similarly in A.D. 1555-56 one Aubala Rāya was allowed to enjoy two-thirds of the produce from certain lands, and was required to give the remaining portion doubtless as *mēlvāram* to the temple from which he purchased lands at Ālamūru (66 of 1915). Here too the reference is to the rent from the land and the epigraph has no reference to taxes.

60. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44. Though other taxes such as those on houses, professionals and workshops are mentioned here, we have confined ourselves to an examination of the rates of taxes on land alone, and reserve the other taxes for treatment in a later section.

Class of land.	Assessment in paddy on one *vēli* including *araśupēṟu*, *ilakkai*, etc.	Other taxes such as *kāṇikkai*, *śammādam*, *paṭṭavaṭṭam*, *kāṇikūli*, etc., on each *vēli*.
	A.	
1. Paddy fields.	50 *kalams* of paddy and ¼ *panam*.	20 *paṇams*.
2. Uncultivated waste (just brought under cultivation).	40 *kalams* of paddy.	18 "
3. Forest reclaimed.	20 "	2 "
4. *Kaḍaippū* lands and lands irrigated by baling water.	20 "	10 "
	B.	
5. Plantain and sugar cane gardens in wet land.	...	60 *panams* including *araśupēṟu*, *kāṇikkai*, etc.
6. Plantain and sugar cane gardens in *paḍugaittākku* (embankments).	...	50 *paṇams*.
7. Marshes in which red lotuses are grown.	...	40 "
8. Lands producing turmeric, ginger, onions, garlic, etc.	...	25 "
9. Lands producing brinjals (*vaḻudilai*).	...	30 "
10. Lands producing *nelluparutti*, castor seeds, *varaguparutti*, *mustard*, Bengal gram, and *kuśumbai* (*carthamus tinctorious*) *ēṛivāy*, *tāṅgalvāy*, and *puḻudi* (lands producing) gram (*kāṇam*), lands producing paddy and *śāmbalāḍi*.	...	20 *panams* (including *araśupēṟu* and *nīrōlai*, etc.)
11. Lands producing gram, green pulse, *taṉiparutti*, *taṉi āmaṇakku*, *tiṉai*, *tanivaragu*, *śāmai*, etc.	...	1 *paṇam*.

Class of land.	Assessment in paddy on one *vēli* including *araśupēṟu ilakkai*, etc.	Other taxes such as *kāṇikkai*, *śammādam*, *paṭṭavaṭṭam*, *kāṇikūli*, etc., on each *vēli*.
12. Lands producing sesamum (taxed for first crop).	...	¾ *paṇam*.
13. Lands yielding *vēdikoḻundu*.	...	200 *paṇams*.
14. Lands yielding *olimuḍukoḻundu* (taxed for first crop).	...	100 „
C.		
Dry crops (*Vāṇpayiru*).		
1. Every five areca palms yielding about 1500 nuts per tree.*	...	1 *paṇam* (including *araśūpēṟu*).
2. Every cocoanut palm yielding not less than 40 fruits per tree.	...	½ *paṇam*.
N.B.—Tender trees which have not borne fruit, barren trees and trees in the backyards of houses are exempted.		
3. Every jack tree yielding not less than 20 fruits per tree.	...	Lost.[61]
N.B.—The surrounding (i.e. other) trees are not taxed.	...	

61. *M.E.R.*, 1915, p. 44. Of the *Kārpāśāna* (i.e. wet) lands, those that died in the planting (*naṭṭuppāḻ*), those that yielded only blighted grain (*śāvi*) and those that were otherwise damaged (*aḻivu*) were not counted, and of the *puṉpayir* (i.e., dry lands) *pāḻ*, *śāvi* and *aḻivu* were likewise not counted and the remaining holdings were charged at the reduced rate of 8½ to 10, it being, however, provided that in the excluded lands where on inspection they were found to have yielded ¼ crop a third of the produce would be charged as *vāram* from each holder.

Another record found at Vṛddhācalam in the South Arcot district dated A.D. 1430-31 gives the rates of taxes in grain and money to be levied from the Kaikkōḷar, Tantirimār and other castes in certain villages.

Land.	Assessment.
1. On wet land on which dry crops were cultivated, and dry land on which wet crops were raised, including the cultivation of plantains and sugarcane.	One *kalam* of paddy on each *mā*.
2. For dry crops raised on wet lands.	Two *tūṇi* of grain on each *mā*.
„ „ dry lands.	One *tūṇi* and one *padakku* on each *mā*.[62]

In about A.D. 1433 at Tirumalai in the Chittore district the *rājabhaṇḍāram* took two hundred *paṇams* for its half share, and the *Śrībhaṇḍāram* took the other half of the income in the *Tiruviḍaiyāttam* village of Śittakkuṭṭai.[63] At Āḍuturai in the Trichinopoly district a record of about A.D. 1450 registers the regulation of the taxes at 5 *paṇams* for the first year and 10 from the following year on each *plough* of dry land, and 8 *paṇams* on every 100 *kuḻi* of wet land.[64]

In this connection two epigraphs in the Pudukkōṭṭai State are invaluable. One found at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai and dated A.D. 1462 states that the tax on the *devadānam* lands to the provincial chief was five-tenths of the produce.[65] The other one found at Palaṅkaṟai and dated A.D. 1481 records a grant of land and tanks to a hermit (*tapasvi*) as *kuḍinīṅgādevadānam* and fixes the following rates of assessment:

⅓ of the produce for *kuṟuvai* during winter;

¼ for sesamum (*eḷḷu*) and rāgi (*kēḻvaragu*);

62. 91 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68.

63. *T. T. D. I. No.* 201. As the inscription refers to the *Śrōtrikuttagai* of the said village of Śittakkuṭṭai otherwise known as Śrīnivāsagrāmam for money payments it appears to be a division of the *kaḍamai* tax and not of the produce. If it had been the latter, there could not have been any reference to the money payment; nor is it reasonable to assume that there was a division of not only the money income but also the grain produce.

64. 36 of 1913.

65. *I.P.S.*, 711.

1/6 for millet (*varagu*) *śāmai*, *kambu* and other crops cultivated in dry lands.

1/4 for sesamum, horse-gram, *payaṟu*, etc.[66]

An inscription at Śrīmuṣṇam in the South Arcot district dated 1504-05 records the fixing of a fresh rate of assessment for the taxes which had become exorbitant in the time when the country was in the hands of the Kannaḍiyas. According to the revision it was ordered that the lands might be measured year after year with the standard rod of 34 feet, and that 15 *paṇams* (including all items of taxation) be levied on one *mā* of dry land and 20 *paṇams* on one *mā* of wet land and that towards *araśupēṟu* 1/8 *paṇam* be levied on each tenant.[67]

A record at Śērmādēvi in the Tinnevelly district dated A.D. 1550-51 registers the fixing of the rate of taxes by Viśvanātha Nāyakkar, the agent of Rāma Rāja Viṭṭaladēva Mahā Rāja, who remitted all taxes (including *uḻavu* and *paṇḍāravāḍai*, since the *devadāna* and the *brahmadeya* lands in a number of villages surrounding *Śēravaṉmādēvi* had been abandoned by the dispensing *kuḍi* and the *paḍais*. According to the new rate only one *kāṇi* was charged per *mā* of land.[68]

The above list gives us an idea of the rate of taxes on landed property in the Vijayanagar period. There are also a few inscriptions which mention the total revenue to the state from a particular village or a group of villages. But as such a consolidated amount indicates the variety of the sources of revenue in which the tax on land was only one, it is difficult to fix from it the rate of assessment on land per village.

A lithic record of A.D. 1400 from a village in the Kaḍūr district in Mysore states that the Halamuttūr village in the Sāntaḷige nāḍ together with its hamlets (named) and plains was rated at 84 *hoṉ* and 1¾ *haṇa*.[69] An inscription from a village in the Shimoga taluk, in the district of the same name, records that the total revenue from five villages in the Āragavenṭhe was 210 (?).[70] An epigraph at Cidambaram in the South Arcot district belonging to the time of Acyuta Rāya states that the income from

66. *Ibid.*, 819.
67. 247 of 1916 ; *Rep.*, para 64.
68. 721 of 1916.
69. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 35.
70. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 84.

four villages near Cidambaram was 500 *poṉ*.[71] But such information is not forthcoming in sufficient fullness to enable us to calculate the total revenue that went to the state. Rice's estimate that it amounted to 81 crores of *Avakōṭi cakras* or *pagodas* is based on the authority of some old manuscripts of doubtful accuracy. But it seems that it is an exaggerated figure, for it is really difficult to believe that the region south of the river Kṛṣṇā could have contributed so much by way of taxes.

2. *Property Tax:* In ancient and mediaeval India as in modern India all property both immovable and movable was taxed. But the one difference between the levying of taxes on property in the mediaeval period and the modern period is that, while in modern India the annual income or the rental value of the property is taken into consideration for the levy of taxes, in the mediaeval period that did not form the principle of taxation, but the property itself as a unit was taxed. Such a principle was followed for making assessments on houses, house-sites, treasure troves, cows, bulls, sheep, etc.

With regard to estimating the rate of taxes on property we are at a disadvantage for two reasons. Firstly we have only a few inscriptions which give us an idea about them, and secondly even those few are found scattered in the different parts of the empire. We do not thus know for instance if the rate of a particular tax levied on a house in a certain part of the empire was the same as the rate for a similar house in another part of the empire. Anyway the following rates may be noted:—

Storied house	..	2 *paṇams*	72
House with inside verandah	..	1 *paṇam*	

(Little Conjeevaram, Chingleput District.)

House of a villager (*nāṭṭār*), (including *vilai*, *āśamdi*, *vāśalpanam*, etc.)		3 *paṇams*	73
House of a *Tantirimār*	..	1½ *paṇams*	
House of a *makkaḷ*	..	1½ *paṇams*	
Verandahs with sloping roofs (Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore District)	..	¾ *paṇam*	
House of a Vaiśya (Bangalore)	..	1 *paṇam*[74]	

71. 272 of 1913.
72. 585 of 1919.
73. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
74. E.C., IX, Bn. 96.

Each *kōṭṭil* of the *veṭṭis* (Vṛddācalam, South Arcot)	..	⅛ *paṇam*[75]
Each *vāśal* (Tirukōyilūr, South Arcot)	..	1 *paṇam*[76]
Outhouse (Yelandūr)	..	1 *gadyāna*[77]
House site (Śerkāḍ, North Arcot)	..	1 *paṇam*[78]
Cow (C. nagar, Mysore)	..	½ *gadyāna*[79]

There are other inscriptions which mention the property tax but do not give the rates of assessment. Among them were the taxes on *aḍapputtāḻvu* (small doorways),[80] the hidden treasure, underground stores, etc.,[81] *ūttaipāṭṭam* (springs),[82] houses of priests and other sacred buildings,[83] *vāśalpaṇam*, *maṇaikuḻi*[84] she-buffaloes, he-buffaloes, horses, bullocks, etc.,[85] sheep,[86] carts, and cocoanut trees.[87]

An inscription from Sravaṇa Belgola in the Myṣore State of the time of Bukka I records the following settlement:

> " Tātayya Tirumala by consent of the blessed people (the Jainas) of the whole kingdom, will, out of the money levied at the rate of one *haṇa* a year for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom for the body guard to be appointed by the Vaiṣṇavas at the holy place Bellgula appoint twenty servants as a bodyguard for the God, and with the remainder of the money have the dilapidated Jinālayas (or Jina temples) whitewashed."[88]

Unoccupied houses were exempted from the taxes.[89]

75. 91 of 1918; *Rep.*, 1918, para 69.
76. 335 of 1921.
77. *E.C.*, IV, Yl. 62.
78. 203 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 41.
79. *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 97.
80. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.
81. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 241.
82. 373 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917, para 47.
83. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 94.
84. 89 of 1889; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 318; 335 of 1921.
85. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 30.
86. *E.C.*, XI, Jl. 2.
87. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79; *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 30.
88. *E.C.*, II, Sb. 344.
89. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.

3. *Commercial Taxes:* Duties on trade and commercial transactions contributed a large share to the state revenues. The customs and octroi duties were levied both on land and water transports, at fixed rates. Further, inscriptions mention the opening of new fairs which brought revenue to the government.

Rice divides the customs under three different heads: *sthalādāyam, mārgādāyam,* and *māmūlādāyam.* Under the first head came the customs on goods imported to be sold at one place; under the second came the duty levied on goods in transit through a district; and under the third came the duty levied on goods exported to foreign countries. " All kinds of goods even firewood and straw paid these duties excepting glass rings, brass pots, and soap balls ".[90] Taxes were levied on the shops,[91] *vilaikāṇam* on sales,[92] *virpaṇam* and *kaivilaikāṇam* (share of sales for cash price ?),[93] duties on piecegoods, animals, grain[94] and baskets of eggs.[95] There were transit dues on loads of betel,[96] dues on loads, oil and *māsti.*[97] There were also *aḍikāśu* (tax on stalls in markets)[98] *śandaimudal* (market fees),[99] tax collected on the sale of branded cattle,[100] women's cloth and other beautiful articles,[101] tolls on *kāvaḍis*, pack horses, bullocks, asses, and head-loads,[102] water-sheds, market towns, and on all articles at different rates going through roads to towns of pilgrimage,[103] *pāśivilai* (tax on the sale price of fish),[104] *aḍḍagada śuṅkam* (a tax levied on the sellers of sheep)[105] and the *mūla viśābadi.*[106] An inscription of the time of

90. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 583.
91. *M.A.R.*, 1926, No. 120.
92. 203 of 1921; *Rep.*, para 41; 87 of 1889.
93. 28 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 351.
94. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75.
95. *E.C.*, III, Ml. 95.
96. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 30.
97. *E.C.*, X, Ct. 40.
98. 196 of 1910.
99. 324 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 49.
100. *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71.
101. *Nel. Ins.*, Gj. 132.
102. 18 of 1915; 704 of 1919.
103. 242 of 1892; *E.I.*, VI, p. 232.
104. 121 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 410; 373 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917, para 47.
105. See Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty, *Nel. Ins.*, On. p. 947 and note.
106. A tax on the profits of trade levied in periodically settled proportions upon the merchants, traders, shop-keepers, retail dealers, mercantile agents, and all the inhabitants of a village or town engaged in trade. (Wilson, *Indian Glossary*, p. 549).

Acyuta Rāya found at Rūpanaguḍi in the Bellary district mentions that tolls were collected on the grains passing either way through Rūpalaguḍiya thāṇya in Yalapēya śīme.[107] In the Telugu country customs were collected about A.D. 1520 in *vasanta garuvus* (rest houses), watersheds, salt beds, market towns and roads frequented by people.[108]

An epigraph of A.D. 1379 mentions the following rates of taxes levied on towns and shops :

Old town, one *ga* ;
Small town, five *ma* ;
Village , three *ma* ;
A shop at a festival, one *ma*.[109]

A few inscriptions give the rates of taxes levied on commodities. The Koṇḍavīḍu inscription of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is one such, and it gives the following details.

No.	Article.	Unit taxed.	Rate.
1.	Great millet	per bag.	½ *paikam.*
2.	Millet	"	"
3.	Salt	"	"
4.	Mangoes	"	"
5.	Myrobalan	"	"
6.	Fruits	"	"
7.	Brinjals	"	"
8.	Clearing nuts	"	"
9.	*Māvine* (a fragrant root like sarasaparilla)	"	"
10.	Green gram	"	1 *paikam.*
11.	Black gram	"	"
12.	Bengal gram	"	"
13.	Horse gram	"	"
14.	Red gram	"	"
15.	Wheat	"	"
16.	Sesamum seeds	"	"
17.	Oil seeds	"	"
18.	Black pulse	"	"
19.	*Anumula*	"	"
20.	Cotton	"	"
21.	Tamarind	"	"
22.	Gall nuts	"	"

107. 223 of 1913.
108. *E.I.*, VI, p. 232.
109. *E.C.*, XII, Si. 76. *Ga* seems to stand for *Gadyāna* and *Ma* for *Māṇa.*

No.	Article	Unit taxed.	Rate
23.	Myrobalan seeds	per bag	1 *paikam*
24.	Yarn	"	"
25.	*Cāma*	"	"
26.	*Cirugadam* (root)	"	"
27.	Onions		1 *damma.*
28.	Turmeric	"	"
29.	Dammer	"	"
30.	Fenugreek	"	"
31.	Cumin	"	"
32.	Mustard	"	"
33.	New gunny bags	per *śalage*	"
34.	Green ginger	per bag	"
35.	Lime fruit	"	"
36.	Cocoanuts	"	"
37.	Jaggery	"	2 *dammas.*
38.	Cleaned cotton	"	"
39.	Ghee	"	"
40.	Castor oil	"	"
41.	Sangaḍi nuts	"	"
42.	Dry ginger	"	"
43.	Iron	"	"
44.	Steel	"	"
45.	Chisels	"	"
46.	Sugar	"	4 *dammas.*
47.	Areca nuts	"	"
48.	Cotton thread	"	"
49.	Betel leaves,	"	"
50.	Long pepper	"	6 *dammas.*
51.	Pepper	"	"
52.	Sandal	"	"
53.	Cloves	"	"
54.	Nutmeg	"	"
55.	Mace	"	"
56.	Lead	"	"
57.	Tin	"	"
58.	Copper	"	"
59.	Women's garments	Double Bullock load	1 *cavela.*[110]

The above list clearly shows the multiplicity of the taxes levied on articles of trade and on commercial transactions. The gross income from such duties levied on articles coming into and going out of the various important places in the empire was enor-

110. 242 of 1892; *E.I.*, VI, p. 232. For another inscription see *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75.

mous. According to Nuniz the city of Nāgalāpura alone yielded forty-two thousand *pardaos* of duties for the things which entered into it. He says : " The duties in this land being (are) very great ; since nothing comes through the gates that does not pay duty, even men and women as well as headloads and merchandise."[111] If that city alone yielded so much, it is not difficult to imagine that the gross collection from this source should have been considerable. There were a large number of business centres in the empire. An inscription already referred to mentions as many as twenty-six important cities.[112] But as said earlier the duties were imposed only on the articles that were sold, and not on all articles carried for sale. But this obviously refers to the *sthalādāyam* of Rice's classification.

The customs due to the government were not collected by them direct, but only farmed out to local persons who paid a fixed amount to them. That such customs duties were farmed out on contract to bidders is shown by an inscription in the present Shimoga district in the Mysore State.[113] The rates of duties differed from place to place for the renters " took various measures frequently for increasing the perquisites of their respective caukis at the expense of others. For instance they advanced money to some of the merchants, requiring only one-half of the duty which was paid by others thus encouraging them to come by their *kattes* (custom houses), where they paid reduced customs, with a view to inducing others to follow the same route. It is impossible to fix on any certain rate in collecting customs on goods imported. When one farmer demanded ten pagodas for 100 loads, another took only two pagodas, and their rates widely differed as collected at various places. These farmers, from the collections of the customs on different descriptions of goods and trades, paid the amount of the agreed rent to the Sarkar, reserving the profits which were more or less considerable according to circumstances."[114] Nuniz makes

111. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-4.

112. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75 ; Vijayanagari, Hastināvati, Dorasamudram, Guṭṭi, Penuguṇḍi, Āḍavani, Udayagiri, Candragiri, Muluvāyi, Kāñci, Paḍevīdu, Caduraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, Maṅgaḷūru, Bārakūru, Honnāvūra, Candavūra, Āraga, Candraguṭṭi, Annigere, Huligere, Niḍugallu, Cimatanakallu, Taṟiyakallu, Āneviddaśari, Kalheya, Telakalambi and Śiṅgapaṭṭaṇa. An epigraph of A.D. 1606 mentions as many as 42 customs houses in the western parts of the empire. (*E.C.*, VIII, Sa. 123.)

113. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 30.

114. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, pp. 583-84.

a few interesting observations on this system of the farming out of the customs. Speaking about a particular gate in Vijayanagar he remarks: "This gate is rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* each year, and no man can enter it without paying just what the renters ask, country folk as well as strangers. In both these cities there is no provision or merchandise whatever, for all come from outside on pack-oxen, since in this country they always use beasts for burdens; and every day there enter through these gates 2000 oxen and every one of these pays three *vintees* except certain polled oxen without horns which never pay anything in any part of the realm."[115]

Excise duties were levied on the manufacture of salt, and the drawing of toddy. The unit of taxation of the manufacture of salt was the salt pan.[116] As for the drugs however we do not know the unit of taxation. But a few inscriptions mention the duties on such drugs.[117]

4. *Profession Taxes:* Taxes on professions contributed a fair share to the state revenues. The principle that underlay the levy of this tax does not seem to have been to tax the income derived by a person exercising a profession, but to levý a tax on him as he was born in a particular community or caste and thus was exercising or was expected to exercise a particular profession. We are not able to know the exact rates of the taxes levied on the followers of the different professions throughout the empire. Yet from the details of a few epigraphs of the period we notice that the following were the rates on a few of the professionals.

Each Śāliya weaver for each loom	.. 9 *paṇams*.
Each blacksmith, carpenter, silver or goldsmith	.. 5 *paṇams* (including *kottu*, *kīrru*, *araśūpēru* and *kāṇikkai*).
Each chief potter	.. 5 *paṇams* (including *tirigaiāyam*).
Each chief barber	.. 4 *paṇams* (including *kariviāyam*).
Each chief washerman	.. 4 *paṇams* (including *kallāyam*).
Each kaṇṇakkāṇaṉ (brazier)	.. 6 *paṇams*.
Each chief oilmonger	.. 20 *paṇams* (including *karuāyam*).

(At Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore district).[118]

115. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 366. A *vintem* was about 1 7/20d. (*ibid.*, *n.*).
116. *E.C.*, V, Cn. 174.
117. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75; *E.C.*, III, Ng. 22, etc.
118. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44. Here it deserves to be noted that the above taxes not only included those levied on them for their pro-

Each Mudali, Kaivinakkārar and other residents	.. 1 *panam*.

(At the seven pēṭṭais at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, N. Arcot district).[119]

Each Kaikkōḷar	.. ½ *paṇam* on each loom.
Each Śēṉaikkuḍaiyār	.. ½ *paṇam*
Each fisherman	.. ½ „
Each shepherd	.. ½ *paṇam* on each *kuḍi*.
Each oilmonger (Vṛddhācalam, S. A.)	.. ½ *paṇam* [120]
Each Śetti, Kaikkōḷar and Vāṇiyaṉ	.. 2 *paṇams*.

(At Puḷipparakoil, Chingleput district).[121]

Each Kaccaḍavāniyar (family)	.. 3 *paṇams*.
Each Śeṉbaḍavar (family)	.. 3 *paṇams*.

(At Puḷipparakoil, Chingleput district).[122]

There were taxes on certain officers of government:

Each judge (*niyāyattār*)	.. 5 *paṇams*.
Each member of the village council (*maṉṟāḍi*)	.. ½ *paṇam*.
Each Śeṭṭi proprietor	.. 3 *paṇams* (including *araśupēṟu*, *vaṭṭam* and *kāṇikkai*).
Each principal collector of tolls	.. 4 *paṇams*.

(At Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore district).[123]

Under this head can also be included a variety of other professions and castes that were taxed. Mention may be made of the tax on the shop-keeper who opened his shop in his house (*maṉaikkaḍaiyār*), which was 3 *paṇams*[124] and *puṟakkuḍi* (farm servants) which was 1 *paṇam*.

fession, but also those on the instruments or the materials they used in their profession. Thus for example the potter's tax was a tax not only on the potter for his profession but also for the *tirigai* or the wheel he used. But Gopinatha Rao translated the term *tirigai āyam* as the tax on the sale of *mundirigai*, cashew nuts or common grape wine. (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 117). This is clearly wrong. The tax on barbers included the tax on the razor (*karivi*) he used. The washerman paid his tax also for the stone he used in doing his work. Gopinatha Rao thinks that *kallāyam* was very likely a tax payable for quarrying stones from hills. (*ibid.*).

119. *M.E.R.*, 1928-29, para 69.
120. 91 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68.
121. 293 of 1910.
122. 294 of 1910.
123. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
124. *Ibid.*; *I.P.S.*, 687.

Besides there were taxes on the village headman (*maṇiyam*),[125] *śadaikkaḍamai* (tax on shepherds),[126] carpenters, washermen and potters,[127] the Uvaccans[128] the shoemakers[129] the musicians (*pāḍāvari* (?) *pāḍagavari*)[130] *bedabinugu* (mean coquettes fond of show),[131] gilders,[132] toddy drawers and painters,[133] goldsmiths[134] slaves[135] and on the *pulavars*.[136] Among the many castes that were taxed were the Brahmans for their earnings,[137] the members of the Pariah caste each of whom was taxed ½ *paṇam* though exceptions were made in certain specified cases,[138] and the Maḍigas and the Vanniyas.[139] From inscriptions we learn that the members of the Tōṭṭigan caste in Pulliyūrnāḍu were to pay one *paṇam* for the village;[140] each of the six classes of *Kuḍimakkaḷ* was taxed ½ *paṇam*.[141] Even the *paradēśis* (sojourners) did not escape taxation.[141a] *Piḷḷaivari*,[142] *āḷvari* (poll-tax)[143] and the *pēr-kaḍamai*[144] were three other taxes which seem to have been collected from certain classes of people. A tax was collected known as *nōṭṭavartaṇai* which went to remunerate the shroffs.[145] The prostitutes were not exempt from taxation.[146]

Among the followers of different professions the barbers seem to have been the most fortunate during the time of Sadāśiva, for

125. *I.P.S.*, 753.
126. 450 of 1921 ; 460 of 1922.
127. *E.C.*, IX, Dv. 57.
128. A tax on the temple drummers. (324 of 1911). H. K. Śāstri thinks that they were the temple drummers. But Hultzsch thinks that they were a low class of Muhammadans (*S.I.I.*, I, p. 82n). Krishna Śāstri's interpretation is more plausible.
129. *E.C.*, X, Ct. 94.
130. 30 of 1913 ; *Rep.*, para 54.
131. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
132. *Ibid.*
133. 216 of 1917 ; *Rep.*, para 68.
134. 22 of 1897.
135. *Nel. Ins.*, On. 132.
136. 52-A of 1887.
137. 177 of 1913.
138. 59 of 1914 ; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
139. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 67 ; 30 of 1913 ; *Rep.*, 1913, para 54.
140. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 103a.
141. *I.P.S.*, 711.
141a. *Ibid.*
142. *Ibid.*, 784.
143. *Ibid.*, 733.
144. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 112.
145. 103 of 1918 ; *Rep.*, para 69.
146. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75 ; Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 111

all the taxes on them were then remitted. A large number of inscriptions credit Rāma Rāja with the remission of the tax on barbers.[147] A few others state that the emperor Sadāśiva remitted the taxes at the instance of Aḷiya Rāmappayya on the petition of the barber Koṇḍoju. A number of inscriptions recording this remission have the figures of the barber's instruments like the razor, the strop, mirror and the scissors engraved near them.[148] According to an inscription the taxes, forced labour, fixed rent, land rent, *mahānavami* torches, *birāḍa*, etc., payable by the barbers were remitted.[149]

These taxes on the professions must have been paid obviously only in cash. It seems also they were only annual payments, for, if they had been monthly contributions, they would have weighed very heavily on the people. That they were annual payments is also indicated by an inscription which states that Vīra Bukkaṇa Uḍaiyār (Bukka II), in Ś. 1326, fixed the taxes payable by the Śeṭṭis, Kaikkōḷas and the Vāṇiyas living in the premises of the temple at Puḷipparakōyil at two *paṇams* per year on each individual.[150]

5. *Industries Tax :* Under the Vijayanagar kings all the industries were taxed. The basis of taxation in this case was the net profit expected from running an industry by the proprietor. It was on this principle that a few owners of industries were taxed. It may be mentioned here incidentally that by industries we do not mean the large factories we see in the modern day, but only the cottage industries, each of which gave occupation only to one or two individuals. Here a distinction has to be made between the tax on the industries and the tax on the professionals. The proprietor of an industry was different from a professional in the sense that while the former was a capitalist who ran the industry on a commercial basis and supplied the requirements of the public, the professional was one who was an independent wage earner. He got his money for the work he did, and not for the industry

147. *E.C.*, VI, Tk. 13, etc.

148. The barber Koṇḍoju, who was instrumental in getting the tax remitted, seems to have had great influence with the emperor. The poet Rudrayya, the author of the Telugu poem *Niraṅkuśopākhyānam*, went to the city of Vijayanagar, and got an interview with the emperor Sadāśiva through the influence of Koṇḍoju in spite of the jealousy of the court poets. The poet, to show his gratitude to the barber, composed a verse in praise of him which is still extant. (*M.E.R.*, 1926, para 43).

149. *E.C.*, XI, Mk. 6.

150. 293 of 1911 ; *Rep.*, 1912 para 51.

he ran. Taxes were also levied accordingly. While the profession tax was one that was levied on the workers and officials, the industrial tax was one that was levied on the industries.

The following were the rates of assessment:

Kaikkōḷa (weaver) with one working loom	.. 4	*paṇams.*
Weaver with loom that does not work (*aḍaitari*)	.. 2	"
Śāliya (weaver) for each loom	.. 9	"
Lace loom in working order	.. 3	"
Lace loom not in working order	.. 1½	"
(At Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore district).[151]		
Each loom of the Paraiahs	.. ¼	*paṇam.*
(At Vṛddācalam, S. A. district).[152]		
Loom at Pulipparakōyil in the Chingleput district[153]	.. 2	*paṇams.*
Loom at Vāyalūr in the same district[154]	.. 3	"

That differential taxation was not unknown in those days is gleaned from the following rates of taxes collected from a few industries:

On the looms of the residents who owned lands, a *kaḍamai* of 4 *paṇams* and an *āyam* of 2 *paṇams*.

On the looms of new settlers, a *kaḍamai* of 3 *paṇams*, and an *āyam* of 1½ *paṇams*.[155]

But we are not able to know the exact rates of taxes on the other industries. There were taxes on looms (*tarikkaḍamai*)[156] oil-mills (*śekkukaḍamai*)[157] *ariśikāṇam*,[158] gold (*poṉvari*),[159] superior gold (*śempoṉvari*),[160] on grazing (*pulvari*),[161] *folds*,[162] income from thread (*nūlāyam*)[163] silkthread (*paṭṭāḍainūlāyam*)[164] running

151. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
152. 91 of 1918.
153. 293 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 51.
154. 364 of 1908.
155. 284 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 41.
156. 365 of 1914; *I.P.S.*, 695; 324 of 1911.
157. 203 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 41.
158. 87 of 1887; 89 of 1889; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 318.
159. 89 of 1889.
160. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.
161. *Ibid.*
162. *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 2.
163. 20 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 343.
164. 272 of 1912.

of boats (*marakkaḷam*)[165] and ferry boat.[166] The manufacture of the stamps for looms was also taxed.[167] It is interesting to note here that tax was paid even by the government looms.[168] Forest lands were leased out to bidders.[169] There was another tax called the *furnace tax*.[170] Rice, evidently having this tax in view, says: "In the winter season, a certain class employed themselves in collecting black sand and earth, in channels from the hills from which they smelted iron used for agricultural and other uses. This ore was smelted in a kind of furnace or large fire stand called *hommal*. For permission of cutting down wood for charcoal and for digging the ore they paid an yearly revenue called *homla-gutta* proportioned to the quantity of iron made in the district."[171]

Another equally important industry that was taxed was the diamond industry. Adapanayque, the lord of a gate at Vijayanagar through which came the diamonds, was required to pay to the king every year 40,000 *pardaos* with the condition that all diamonds which exceeded twenty *mangelins* in weight should be given to the king for his treasury. Thus though the mining industry was in the hands of Adapanayque, he was required to give away all superior diamonds to the king.[172]

6. *Military contribution*: For the maintenance of the army and the forts in the empire certain taxes were imposed on the people. Such were the *daḷavili* (military contribution),[173] and *daṇṇāyakasvāmya*, the *daṇṇāyakarmagamai* (contributions to the military commander),[174] *paḍaikkāṇikkai* (contribution made for the maintenance of the army)[175] and the *sanāya* (*senāya* ?) perhaps also a tax paid for the maintenance of the army.[176] For the maintenance of the forts in the locality a *kōṭṭai magamai* (contribution to the fort) was collected.[177] An inscription at Nellorepet

165. *I.P.S.*, 707.
166. 440 of 1906.
167. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 71.
168. 116 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 70.
169. 329 of 1920.
170. *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71.
171. *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 548.
172. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
173. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
174. 510 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 43; *Ibid.*, 1911, para 51.
175. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 112.
176. *C.P.*, 8 of 1921-22.
177. 510 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 43; 373 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917, para 47.

mentions the *bīraṅgi* tax (the tax for cannon).[178] There was another tax called the *kōṭṭaipaṇam* or *kōṭṭaippadivu* which was collected in those days in the Tinnevelly district and the modern Travancore State. The kings are said to have forcibly demanded one hundred and twenty-five *paṇams* per *kōṭṭai*. Evidently this was also a military contribution collected for maintaining the fortifications and defence walls.[179]

An impost was levied for the defence of the conquered country.[180] There were three other taxes that were collected from the people known as the *paṭṭayakāṇikkai*,[181] the *vilvari*[182] and the *śūlavari*.[183] The first was a contribution for the sword, or army. Perhaps it was either a contribution levied by the government for the maintenance of the army or more probably a license fee for possessing a sword. The second was probably a license fee for owning a bow, while the third also was probably a license fee for owning a trident.

7. *Social and Communal Taxes*: A few social contributions were collected from the people and their organizations. These contributions were either collected by the government and added on to their own other revenues, or given over to the public and social institutions like temples or schools. A few of them were levied by the local authorities for the benefit of certain communities. Such was for instance the *dombariapaṇṇu*,[184] the money collected for the benefit of the Dommaras, a community of people wandering in the country. A few others were levied on certain ceremonial functions like marriage, while a few contributions (*magamais*) were collected for certain festivals in the local temples. Lastly a few contributions, which were more of a feudal character, were made by the feudal chiefs to the king on certain occasions. Paes writes: "Whenever a son happens to be born to this king (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya), or a daughter, all the nobles of the

178. 129 of 1921.

179. *T.A.S.*, V, Pt. 3, p. 205. Though this *kōṭṭaipanam* was only a military contribution and possibly the same as the *kōṭṭaimagamai*, A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, the editor of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, is inclined to think that it was probably an unusual tax at the rate of some *panams* for lands having a sowing capacity of a *kōṭṭai* of paddy.

180. 373 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917, para 47.

181. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.

182. 324 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 49.

183. 89 of 1889; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 318; 241 of 1906.

184. 331 of 1920.

kingdom offer him great presents of money and jewels of price and so they do to him every year on the day of his birth."[185]

The tax on marriages had a long history behind it, and there is evidence to prove that it was collected even from the Cōḻa times, as is shown by many epigraphs which mention the *kallāṇa-kāṇikkai.* The rates of taxes differed with the kind of marriage. From an inscription we learn that the marriage taxes were collected at the following rates:

Regular marriage of a girl ..	1 *bagiluvaṇa* (door *haṇa*) and 1 *devarahaṇa* (God's *haṇa*)
Kudike marriage of a woman ..	Half the above amount.[186]

Taxes were levied on marriage processions,[187] marriage pandals,[188] and on the celebration of marriages with throwing of sandal powder and procession in a palanquin.[189]

The social organizations in the empire also paid some contributions to the government. Such were the taxes on the *Iḍaṅgai* and *Valaṅgai* sects,[190] the *Jaṅgamas, Maḍigas,* and the *Jīyars.*[191] A fee called *Ganacāradere* was collected from the beggars.[192] Besides meetings were also taxed.[192a] Mention may be made of the *paṭṭiṟai* (?) *paṭṭaṟai* (a tax on guilds)[193] and the *sammādam* (a tax payable by the eighteen castes).[194] We get reference also to *aṅgaśālai vari*, probably a tax on entertainments.[195]

For the maintenance of the temple of the guardian deity of the village, a tax called *piḍārivari*[196] was collected, and for the celebration of certain festivals in temples a local cess

185. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
186. *M.A.R.*, 1927, para 105; *Kuḍikalyāṇam* is the procession of a nuptial party after the marriage to the bridegroom's house. See 120 of 1921 for a reference to the *vivāhapaṇam.*
187. *E.C.*, IX, Ma. 17.
188. *E.C.*, XI, Hk. 17.
189. *E.C.*, IV, Hg. 60.
190. 373 of 1916.
191. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 67.
192. 48 of 1915.
192a. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 67.
193. 30 of 1913; *Rep.*, para 54.
194. 221 of 1910.
195. *M.E.R.*, 1913, para 54.
196. 117 of 1897.

was levied. A copy of an inscription said to be in the Maddagiri taluk in the Tumkūr district tells us that the people in the locality were required to pay for the personal offerings and illuminations of the Goddess Kāḷika Kamaṭeśvara Durgā Mahan Kāḷi at the following rates: from the five Āya pāñcālas a yearly contribution per house of 3 *paṇas*; for every marriage among them, one *haṇa*; shaving, 2 *haṇas*; auspicious ceremony, 1 *haṇa*; name giving, ½ *haṇa*; oil for lamps in the month of Kārttika, ¼ *māṇa*; from the carpenter who makes the spiral of the sugar-cane mill, ½ *haṇa*; from the farrier, ½ *haṇa*; from all Haḷipaika villages, a yearly contribution (here follow the names of villages and rate to be paid by each); Nagartas and Bheris, one bullock; oilmen, Devāṅgas and others, 1 *haṇa* per house. And upon the periodical festivals (named), upon the customs dues ¼ *śer* of oil, 1 cocoanut, 2 *du* of incense, arecanut, betel leaf, turmeric and saffron; and for the car festival of Durgā Maheśvarī, a contribution of 2 *du* per house in the Koratagere.[197] There are a large number of instances to show that such local contributions were collected for social purposes and functions of a local character.

Among these taxes the most unpopular one was the tax on marriages. It was generally payable on occasions of marriage both by the brides and bridegrooms of all castes. The inscriptions of the period credit Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya with the remission of the taxes on marriages in the several provinces of the Vijayanagar empire.[198] According to a record the great ministers, Sāḷuva Timmappayya, Sāḷuva Govindayya and Adapināyaniṅgāru were chiefly instrumental in securing this remission for the people.[199] Similarly the tax payable by the marriage parties for riding at marriages was remitted in favour of the people of Satināḍ.[200]

So far as can be inferred from the nature of the taxes and the occasions when they were collected, it is not likely that these taxes would have pressed heavily on the people. But there was a great relief felt by the people at the abolition of a few such taxes. This general satisfaction of the people at such abolition seems to have

197. E.C., XII, Mg. 31.

198. 717 of 1917; *Rep.*, 1918, para 72; a few of them were the Ghanagiri Rājya, Kanḍanavōlu, Ghandikōṭa Sthala, Siddhavaṭṭa, Siddhapuraśīme, Candragiri Rājya, Nāgamaṅgala śīme, Mula Rājya and Rāyadurga Rājya.

199. E.C., XII, Mk. 64.

200. E.C., IX, Ma. 17.

been due to the fact that the people were opposed to the principle of the levying of such vexatious taxes on a variety of social functions, and the opposition had no relation to the heaviness or otherwise of the taxes collected from them.

8. *Judicial income and fines*: Fines formed part of the state revenues. They were imposed for faults, annoyances, theft, adultery and injustice.[201] Besides there was a pound fee levied on stray cattle, and collected by the government.[202] In addition tributes were collected "on account of *daṇḍa*."[203] The provincial ruler or the caste elder seems to have been given the right of dispensing justice on behalf of the government, for which he had to pay a fixed contribution to the state. He could collect the fines levied by him on the wrong doers, and enjoy the proceeds after paying the fixed amount under this head to the government. This system is well described by Rice. He says: "The government used to appoint some aged men of the several inferior classes to be the heads of their respective castes and to administer justice. These headmen, on any complaint against their people, should investigate it and fine them if guilty, adjudging the fine or punishment proportioned according to the law and the nature of the case. For instance a husband convicting his wife of adultery was allowed to sell her to another man, but of his own caste, and receive the price for his use. These headmen employed *Dāśaris* as subordinate officers to minister in religious ceremonies among the inferior castes. Before the ceremonies commenced, the customary duty or gratuity was given to this minister of religion, and they were then at liberty to proceed with the festival whether of marriage or any other occasion. But if the parties neglected the established presents, the *Dāśaris* returned to their houses in displeasure, and no other *Dāśaris* would perform the office as they would be liable to punishment for interfering. By these means the headmen collected fines, perquisites and presents from their castes from which they paid an annual tax to the government. This branch of custom was called *samayācāram* and was taken credit for in the Jamābandi accounts."[204] There was another tax called *nāṭṭuśikkam* collected from the people, perhaps for the maintenance of the provincial prison.[205]

201. *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 97 ; *I.P.S.*, 711 ; *M.A.R.*, 1920. para 79.
202. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.
203. *E.C.*, V, Mj. 56.
204. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, pp. 584-85.
205. 55 of 1897 ; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 4.

9. *Customary Payments :* Besides these, there were a few customary payments which were made at certain important periods of the year or on special occasions. A few of them were the *kaṭṭigai-avasaram, tōraṉakāṇikkai,*[206] *darśana-kāṇikkai* (fee paid when seeing great personages),[207] tax on offerings,[208] food for watchmen,[209] *kālvāśi* (¼ part), *aṉuvarttaṉai, kōvai-varttaṉai, adhikāravarttaṉai taṭṭāyakōl, puravaṭṭam, daśavandam, vārap-paṟṟu,* and so on.[210]

In those days the state extracted compulsory service from the people on state undertakings. The *ūḻiyam*[211] or *āḷamañji*[212] mentioned in the inscriptions refer to this compulsory labour. It was demanded for deepening lakes (*ēri kuḻi veṭṭa*), for digging canals for conducting water from rivers for irrigation purposes (*āṟṟuk-kāl veṭṭa*), and bigger canals (*vāykkālveṭṭa*),[213] for working on hills and constructing temple walls,[214] for menial labour as for example, carrying burdens (*kāruka*[215] or *śumai*) ;[216] forced labour was demanded for providing wood for the camps of the king. Such service was also called *veṭṭi, muṭṭi, vēgāri,*[217] *veṭṭimuṭṭaiyāḷ,*[218] and *āḷtēvai.*[219] A tax was levied on persons from whom free compulsory labour for the repair of forts and the carriage of stores to them could not be demanded, and it was called *koṭṭage.*[220] A valuable inscription at Tiruccenkāṭṭāṅguḍi in the Tanjore district shows to what extent the state depended on this free labour (*veṭṭi-vari*) from the people. The inscription records the gift to a temple of about 40 to 45 different taxes which appear to have been generally collected by the palace at that period. While a large

206. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.
207. 510 of 1921 ; *Rep.*, 1922, para 48.
208. *E.C.*, III, Ml. 95.
209. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 71.
210. 96 of 1918 ; *Rep.*, para 69.
211. 581 of 1893 ; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 257.
212. 87 of 1887.
213. *Ibid.*
214. *M.E.R.*, 1913, para 56.
215. *M.A.R.*, 1916, para 96.
216. 335 of 1921.
217. *I.P.S.*. 730.
218. 365 of 1914.
219. *I.P.S.*, 746.
220. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.

number of such taxes were gifted away to the temple, the *veṭṭi-vari* alone was retained by the king.[221]

10. *Miscellaneous Sources:* In addition to the above dues in the shape of coins, grains, and services to the government, or the local magnate who was the renter for the government revenues, there were a large number of dues generally customary which were demanded from the people. These are of a miscellaneous character demanded in the shape of coins, grains or services and cannot be brought under any of the above heads. It is even difficult to make out the meaning of some of them. Among such miscellaneous taxes and services mention may here be made of: *unmārattam,*[222] *sirrāyam* (small income from miscellaneous sources),[223] *taruppu, tayidu,*[224] *āśupōdu, makkalpērālkoḷḷum-vilaiyāśeru, māṉāviṭṭārai,*[225] *nāṭṭuviniyōgam,*[226] *mādaviraṭṭi,*[227] *viśē-ṣādāyam,*[228] *virimuttu,*[229] *maṇḍaikaṇḍērram, mallāyimagamai, kuru-kulaviśēṣāyam, paladaḷi,*[230] *mugampārvai,*[231] *puduvaippāḍu,*[232] *iḍai-vari* (tax on weights and measures),[233] *piravari,*[234] *mānagaṉike,*[235] *rājalaguṭṭa tax,*[236] *śālage,*[237] *kudiraivilāḍam, ūśivāśi,*[238] *four tax,*[239] tax for the second day of an extra month,[240] *manakōṭṭa, kolayatta,*[241] and a large number of others.

It appears that the property of those of the eighteen castes (*jāti*) who had no sons (aputraka) lapsed to the state though it was very much resented by the people.[242]

221. 74 of 1913; *Rep.*, p. 72.
222. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 54.
223. 365 of 1914; *P.S.I.*, 695.
224. 28 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 351.
225. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.
226. 375 of 1917.
227. 221 of 1910; *Rep.*, 1911, para 51.
228. 376 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1914, para 29.
229. 30 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1913, para 54.
230. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 142.
231. 226 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 54.
232. 230 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916. para 60.
233. *I.P.S.*, 730.
234. 511 of 1905; *Rep.*, 1906, para 48.
235. 510 of 1915.
236. 176 of 1913.
237. *E.C.*, V, Hn. 22.
238. *M.E.R.*, 1928-29, para 69.
239. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 21.
240. *E.C.*, IV, Hg. 91.
241. 697 of 1917.
242. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 15.

Benevolences were demanded in ancient India from the people at certain periods when the government was perhaps embarrassed for want of funds to prosecute an undertaking, or when a calamity had occurred in the empire. But such compulsory demands were a regular feature of the Vijayanagar revenue system. We get ample references to such a tax.[243] An inscription of A.D. 1419 (?) at Gaṅgavāḍi in the Mysore district records the right to collect the *bēḍigc* (benevolences) and to use the amount for the service of God Nañjanātha granted by Nañjarasava Uḍaiyār.[244] Another record of A.D. 1580 (?) in the Mañjarābad taluk of the Hassan district registers that Yaṟakṛṣṇappa Nāyaka remitted in Isravali *beḍige* along with a few other taxes for the merit of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka.[245] The *kaṭṭāyam* mentioned in the Tamil epigraphs seems to have been the name of another tax of this character.[246] Dēva Rāya II for instance ordered that this tax besides some others might be collected by the authorities of the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.[247]

This examination of the system in the Vijayanagar empire gives us an idea of the numerous taxes collected by the government for various purposes. But the revenues of the state could also be increased. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in his *Āmuktamālyada* suggests how the financial resources of the state could be augmented. He says: "For developing the financial resources of the state an increase in its area is necessary; but if its area is found to be too small and it is impossible to increase it, then if the tanks and channels in it are increased, and the poor cultivating ryot is assisted by concessions both as to cultivation and as to division of the produce in developing his resources it would help to augment both the prosperity and the wealth of the state."[248] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya constructed a lake near his capital for providing water for agricultural purposes. Nuniz tells us that the annual revenue to the state on this account increased by 20,000 *pardaos*.[249] Kṛṣṇa Rāya was surely no mere theorist.

243. *E.C.*, III, My. 28.
244. *M.A.R.*, 1928, No. 36.
245. *E.C.*, V, Mj. 52; see also *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 2.
246. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 142.
247. 226 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 54.
248. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 236.
249. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

Similarly a record at Śrīperumbudūr in the Chingleput district dated A.D. 1565 states that a certain Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara (whose name unfortunately is obliterated in the inscription) spent 150 *paṇams* on repairing the irrigation tank at Śrīperumbudūr and increasing its capacity, and ordered that the surplus income from the increased tank *āyacut* was to be utilised for providing certain offerings to God Ādikēśavaperumān and to Emberumāṉār.[250]

SECTION II

Method of Collection

In mediaeval South India taxes were generally paid both in kind and cash. There were local granaries in the villages and small townships where the share of the state collected in kind was stored.[251] Inscriptions show that the revenue of the state was made up of the *sakalasvarṇādāyam* and *sakalabhaktādāyam* or the *nelmudal* and *poṉmudal* in the Vijayanagar days.[252] The exact terms used in the inscriptions of the Cōḷa days for these two sources of revenue seem to have been *nellāyam* and *kāśāyam*.[253] In a few Vijayanagar inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭtai State, the words *nelmudal* and *poṉmudal* are used to indicate respectively the grain and cash revenues of the state.[254] The word *nellāyam* is used in an inscription of A.D. 1374 at Conjeevaram in the Chingleput district,[255] which shows that the word continued to be used even in the Vijayanagar days. A record at Dēvikāpuram in the North Arcot district dated A.D. 1529 also refers to the " taxes in gold and in grain ".[256] Thus we have the evidence of the inscriptions to show that the revenue of the state was collected both in kind and in cash, and as Sir Thomas Munro says, " probably according as the state of prices rendered the one or the other desirable ".[257]

Harihara Rāya wanted to convert the payment in kind into payment in cash. For this conversion " fixed rules were establish-

250. 189 of 1922.
251. 96 of 1918.
252. *S.I.I.*, I. No. 55 ; *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 304 ; *E.I.*. III, p. 73.
253. See *S.I.I.*, I, No. 62, l. 21.
254. *I.P.S.*, 726.
255. 28 of 1890 ; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 351.
256. 553 of 1912 ; *Rep.*, 1913, para 56 ; see also 367 of 1912 ; *E.C.*, II, Sb. 229 where *svarṇādāyam* and *davasādāyam* are referred to. *Davasa* means grain and hence evidently it refers to income in kind.
257. *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, p. 6 ; letter, dated 31st May 1801.

ed founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase and value of grain." The average return from land was taken to be twelve times the seed sown. But as Sturrock, the author of the *South Canara Manual*, remarks, " in arriving, on the method above described, at a money assessment which would bear any fixed proportion to the gross produce of the district, it is necessary to know three things definitely: first the proportion of crop to seed; second the amount of land sown; third the money value of the grain."[258] Taking the first, the supposed proportion of 12: 1 between the crop and the seed was not the correct one in many cases. In some cases it was lower than what could have been normally demanded from the landholder.[259] Secondly there was no regular and systematic survey of the lands undertaken for purposes of assessment.[260] As for the third point, as Sturrock says, " there is no reason for supposing that the available information was in any degree accurate ".[261]

But the taxes on lands were collected in cash and kind some time till about 1400. The Śrīraṅgam copper plates of Dēva Rāya II mention that the state got its revenue both in gold and grain.[262] According to an inscription at Śrīmuṣṇam in the South Arcot district, the state collected money for the *kaḍamai*, *kāṇikkai*, *kuḍi*, *māḍukkāṇikkai*, *puṟavari*, and *viniyōgam*.[263] Thus we see that the taxes on land were collected in kind by the state while the additional dues charged on land were collected in cash. Taxes collected in cash appear to have been known as the *siddhāya* or the 'realised' revenue. Commenting on the system of payment in kind Sir Thomas Munro observes: " The system of paying in kind a share of the produce as government rent is also well adapted to the state of things, because the government is always sure of obtaining half of the produce, or whatever its share may be, from the ryot whether the crop be scanty or abundant, and because the ryot is

258. See *South Canara Manual*, p. 96.

259. See *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, p. 15; letter dated 31st May 1801.

260. Though this statement has been made by the author of the *South Canara Manual* it is open to question, for we have evidence of regular and accurate surveys by the Cōḷas and the early Vijayanagar kings. But it must be admitted that there continued to be local variations in the various measurements in the empire.

261. *South Canara Manual*, p. 96.

262. *E.I.*, XVII, pp. 110-17.

263. 246 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 66; see also 680 of 1917.

also sure of not being called on for rent when the crop has entirely failed and he is perhaps unable to pay. Such a system is better calculated to save the ryot from being oppressed by the demands which he cannot pay than to enable him to become wealthy. This protection to the ryot from the payment of revenue in a season of calamity is the only advantage which appears to belong to the system, but it is an advantage which could be necessary only under a rigid system and would not be wanted under a more liberal one of assessment."[264] In A.D. 1400 a change was introduced in the method of collection of the state revenue. The difficulty of collecting the taxes in money is clearly described in an inscription at Tirumakkōṭṭai in the Tanjore district, which registers an order to the *Mahājanas* of Pālaiyūr *alias* Bhūpatirāyasamudram that the old method of levying taxes in grain for the protection of the country must be revived instead of the then prevailing custom of collecting both in grain and money.[265] As the government epigraphist remarks, this inscription seems to indicate that at a certain stage both kinds of payment, in money and in kind, were resorted to and that as it was found difficult to realise the former it was accordingly given up.[266]

The case of the dry lands was, however, quite different. From them revenue was collected only in cash. We do not come across any inscription which shows that the government dues on dry lands were collected in kind. Even in one and the same inscription we see that while the rates for the wet lands were required to be paid both in kind and in cash, the taxes on dry crops were required to be paid only in money. For instance we see that an inscription of Dēva Rāya II found at Tiruvaigāvūr in the Tanjore district fixes the rates of dues payable to the state both in kind and in cash for wet land, while the dry lands and crops were taxed only in cash. Plantain, sugar-cane, Bengal-gram, areca palms, jack trees, all came under this heading.[267]

As regards the collection itself four different methods were adopted. The first was one where the government appointed its own servants to collect the revenue. In the second the government farmed out its revenues to individual bidders. In the third the government dealt with a body or a group of persons in a

264. *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, pp. 236-37 ; letter dated 31st Dec. 1824.
265. 259 of 1917.
266. *M.E.R., Rep.*, 1918, para 69.
267. 59 of 1914 ; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.

village which was responsible for the revenues from that village or group of villages. In the fourth case the government granted portions of the empire to certain persons who were called the *nāyakas*, in return for military service and the payment of a fixed tribute to the imperial government.

(1) A large number of inscriptions refer to a few village officers who made grants or remitted taxes. They were generally appointed by the government, and looked after the collection of the revenues of the state. Here a distinction has to be made between an ordinary village the lands in which were generally held by the residents on a ryotwari basis, and hence there was no combined action on the part of the villagers with regard to their dealings with the government, and a joint village, in which the lands were held in common and hence were jointly cultivated, or at least their proceeds were divided among the owners of lands in proportion to the extent of landed property each had. In the latter case there seems to have been combined action on the part of the villagers with regard to their dealings with the government. But in the ryotwari villages the kings, in a majority of cases, had to appoint their own officers for the collection of the state revenues. Thus in an epigraph of A.D. 1360-61 we hear of an officer called Meydēvar who was in charge of the taxes of Pulināḍ.[268] There is also evidence of there having been customs officers (*Śuṅkada-adhikāri*) in the empire.[269] Such villages where these officers were appointed, we have to assume, were either ryotwari in character, where individual and separate ownership of the lands was the only feature, or were the royal villages where there were only the demesne lands. There the officers of the government collected the taxes and remitted them to the treasury. Thus the kings had large tracts of land as demesne lands, the rent from which had to be collected only by their own officers.

(2) The second method by which taxes were collected was the contract system, according to which the taxes from a particular area or province were farmed out to the highest bidder. He was responsible for the collection of the revenues of the locality. Speaking about this system in the Vijayanagar empire Moreland says: "It is a noteworthy fact that in the seventeenth century the

268. 309 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 51.
269. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 149.

agrarian system of the Vijayanagar territory was practically identical with that of the Moslem kingdom of Golkonda, and it is most unlikely that the former should have borrowed a new system from the latter; the more probable inference is that farming had become established as the mainstay of the Hindu agrarian system in the South by the end of the thirteenth century"; and that "Alauddin Khalji took it over at the time when he acquired the territories which later became the kingdoms of the Deccan;"[270] and again "the practice of appointing provincial governors on farming terms prevailed in the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar and it is probable that the farming system extended down from the province to the village under the empire as it certainly did in this region after the empire had collapsed."[271] Here it must be observed that Moreland ignores the distinction between two systems, one by which the taxes were farmed out to bidders, and the other by which lands were granted to certain individuals in return for a fixed financial contribution and a military contingent in times of war. Really the one is different from the other. According to the one by which taxes were farmed out to bidders, the contractors, or the 'renters' as they came to be called, had nothing to do with military service for the king, nor did they administer the territory under their charge. They were bound to pay to the government only a fixed amount of revenue.

That the revenues of the government were let out on contract is shown by the evidence of both the literature and inscriptions of the period. It has been remarked that Nuniz, speaking about the main gate of Vijayanagar, says that it was rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* every year.[272] The inscriptions of the periods also refer to the *kaṭṭu guttagai* and the *guṭṭige* systems by which is meant the contract system. Sometimes the taxes and rent let out on contract on a cash basis were known also as the *siddhāya*. For instance "Harihara Oḍeyar made the *dharma* that for the *Āraga* city the fixed rent (*siddhāya*) and combined dues should be 100 *varāhas*. Customs and watchmen's dues at the former rate. Thus much will we continue." This *dharmaśāsana* of Harihara was confirmed by Sadāśiva Nāyaka and Rāma Rāya Nāyaka, and granted

270. *Agrarian Systems of Moslem India*, p. 12; for a description of the system under the Muslims see Metthwold, *Relations of Golkonda*, pp. 11 *ff*.

271. *Ibid*., p. 12, *fn*. 2.

272. Sewell, *op. cit*., pp. 366; *Supra*, p. 62.

to one Benakappa Śeṭṭi of Āraga and a few others in A.D. 1545.[273] The fisheries were also let out on contract. An inscription of A.D. 1522 at Koḍuṅgaḷūr in the North Arcot district records the gift of the income from the lease of fishery in the tank at Koḍuṅgaḷūr for deepening the tank by Daḷavāy Śēvappa Nāyaka for the merit of Tirumalai Nāyaka, the agent of the king.[274] The government sometimes received a consolidated amount for all the taxes imposed by it upon a particular locality.

Buchanan has something to say about this system of farming out the state revenues on contract. Speaking about the chief *gauḍa* of a village who was the chief farmer he says: "He received the whole dues of the government and he agreed to pay so much to the government, and made as much as he could consistently with the rules of the village.[275] This office of the *gauḍa* (renter) was generally hereditary. Besides the income he got, which was the difference between the amount of revenue collected and the payment made to the government, he was entitled to a share of the wet crops in the village. The *gauḍa* also performed the village sacrifices which were in the Canarese districts made to the Cumba (pillar) the image of the village God."[276] But this description seems to refer to a very small renter, and there were really in the empire bigger farmers who were in charge of the revenues of larger areas.

Though this system was the simplest from the point of view of the government's responsibility for the collection of the revenues, yet it should have weighed heavily on the people. In cases where the state revenues were farmed out on contract, the government could not interfere with the manner in which the taxes were collected by the farmers from the people. So long as they paid the due amount to the government in the proper period, they were not interfered with, and hence could do what they liked with the ryots with impunity. As Moreland truly remarks, " the net payments made by the farmers-in-chief constituted the central revenue at the disposal of the king and his ministers, while within the ' government ' or district the farmer-in-chief could farm out any possible source of revenue, the balance of receipts

273. E.C., VIII, Tl. 15; see *ibid.*, IV, Yl. 62 for another instance worth noting.
274. 145 of 1924.
275. These were perhaps in the nature of the customs of the village.
276. *A Journey through Canara, Mysore and Malabar*, I, p. 269.

after making good his contract remaining at his own disposal. These liabilities discharged, the governor could retain all that he collected in excess of necessary expenditure, and his sole object was to make the collections as large as possible. The financial system in South India was thus perhaps the simplest as it was the most oppressive which it would be possible to devise."[277] Here though Moreland confuses a governor with a revenue farmer, yet his estimate of the system is true and correct.

(3) A large number of Vijayanagar inscriptions show that the *nāḍu* and the *sabhā*, the local assemblies that were in charge of the village and rural administration, were made responsible for the collection of the revenues of the government in the areas within their jurisdiction. The government dealt only with these bodies in places where they existed. Remission of taxes by the imperial government or by high local officials, had to be made only with the consent of the local bodies (village assemblies, corporations, such as merchant guilds, etc.) which carefully guarded the interests of the community.[278] These village assemblies had the right not only of collecting the taxes but also of remitting them. A record dated Ś. 1385 at Tiruvaḍatturai, in the South Arcot district, registers, for instance, the gift of the taxes on lands in Teṉkarai Śirukūdalūr for worship and repairs to the temple of Tiruvaraṯturai Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Tiruvaraṯturai Nelvāy, a *brahmadeya* in Karaippōkkunāḍu, by the assemby and the *tantirimār* of Karaippōkkunādu.[279] Another inscription found at the same place but dated is Ś. 1365 registers an assignment, by the *nāṭṭār* of of Padineṭṭuparṟu and the *tantirimār*, of the taxes collected from the settlers in the streets belonging to the temples of Tiruttūṅgāṉaimāḍam Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār and Viṟrirunda Perumāḷ at Peṉṉāgaḍam, Tirumuttinśivigai Kuḍuttaruḷiya Nāyaṉār at Tiruvaraṯturai and Dāgaṉ tī (r) ttaruḷiya Nāyaṉār at Timmāraṉpāḍi, for providing for offerings to the respective deities during the service called Periyanāṭṭāṉ-śandi.[280] The village assemblies or the temples, if they wanted to make any grant from the state revenues, had however to get the previous sanction of the government. Thus in the reign of Vijaya Bhūpati Uḍaiyār (son of Dēva Rāya I), the *sthānattār* (the managers of the temple) of Puiippagavarkōil are stated to have granted after consulting the revenue authorities at

277. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 272-3.
278. 681 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1923, para 83.
279. 211 of 1928-29.
280. 215 of 1928-29.

Candragiriśāla a remission of 6 *paṇams* which they used to take in excess from the Kaikkōḷas as *vāśalpaṇam*, but collected as before 3 *paṇams* on each family Kaccaḍa vāṇiyar, 3 *paṇams* from each family of Śivanpaḍavar (Śembaḍavar), 40 *paṇams* on cloths and 4 towards *kāṭṭigaikāṇikkai*.[281]

(4) Lastly we come to the working of the *nāyaṅkara* system. The kings gave lands to certain persons on condition of their paying an annual tribute and doing military service to the king. This system is well described by both the Portuguese chroniclers, Paes and Nuniz. The former writes : " Should any one ask what revenues this king possesses, and what his treasure is that enables him to pay so many troops, since he has so many and such great lords in his kingdom, who, the greater part of them, have themselves revenues, I answer thus : These captains, whom he has over these troops of his, are the nobles of his kingdom ;........ there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million and a half of *pardaos*, others a hundred thousand *pardaos*, others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred thousand *pardaos*.... Besides maintaining these troops each captain has to make his annual payments to the king."[282] Nuniz also makes similar observations on the revenues of the Vijayanagar kings. He speaks of a few officers of the king who had not only certain military duties but also certain financial obligations and finally concludes, " in this way the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have, so the king settles for them the forces that they are compelled to keep up, and how much revenues they have to pay him."[283]

In such cases we see that, from the point of view of the collection of the revenues of the government, two systems were combined, namely, the system of assignment of land for services rendered and the farming out of the revenues of the government. Sāḷuva Nāyaka, for instance who was the Prime Minister of Acyuta Rāya was the lord of Charamãodel and of Nagapatão and Tamgor, and Bomgarin, and Dapatao and Trugwel and Caullim. He got a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand gold *pardaos*, of which he was obliged to give a third to the king. Besides this he had some military duties.[284] Here we see that the assignment of land

281. 294 of 1910 ; *Rep.*, para 51.
282. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-81.
283. *Ibid.*, p. 389.
284. *Ibid.*, pp. 384-85.

for a particular service, and the system of farming out of the revenues of the government were combined together.

Thus for the collection of the revenues of the state four distinct methods were adopted. But it may be noted here in passing that as the village assembly slowly lost its vitality and hold on the villages in which it existed, the principle of farming out the taxes from villages was extended to such villages, and later taken over by the government itself which appointed its own village officers for purposes of collection. But the system of farming out the revenues of the state, and the granting of *jagir ināms*, which carried with them certain financial obligations, continued to be in vogue right up to the period of the permanent establishment of the British power in South India.[285]

SECTION III

Concessions and Remissions

The government paid due consideration to the condition of the ryot. Where the monsoon was unfavourable or unforeseen circumstances affected the normal yield of land the cultivator was granted relief from the burden of taxation. Concessions were shown in hard cases. Various inscriptions reveal the solicitude of the state to hard pressed ryots.

A record of A.D. 1402-03 at Vaḻuvūr in the Tanjore district, for instance, states that certain lands (*paṟṟu*) which had been submerged and lying waste on account of floods in the Kāvērī were brought under cultivation, the tenants being granted concessions in the payment of the taxes. It is stated that some villages (*paṟṟu*) near Vaḻuvūr were lying fallow since the time the river Kāvērī overflowing its banks had washed away the demarcation mounds between fields, had silted up the irrigation channels, and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields for a considerably long period. These were now reclaimed, the channels restored, the boundary banks repaired and the tenants rehabilitated on certain favourable conditions which are thus enumerated in the inscription : (1) During the first year of holding half of the usual

285. We have, however, no direct evidence to prove the above. Since the renting out the revenues of the state was in vogue in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the government took over the collection of the revenue in a large number of cases during the subsequent period, we have to assume that with the decline of the village assemblies, the system of renting out the revenues was adopted on a larger scale.

dues only would be collected on lands cultivated both for *kār* and *pāśaṉam* and three-fourths from the following year; (2) of money collections *kuḍimai* and *kāṇikkai* being declared *nīṅgal*, half of *paḻavari* and *puduvari* alone would be levied; (3) the tenants too would be assessed at half rates during the first year on *kaḍamai* and *araśupēru vāśalpaṇam, āyam, pulvari* and other such taxes, while from the following year they would be required to pay three-fourth rates except in the case of *pulvari*, which would remain the same; (4) *magamai* and *kāṇikkai* would be treated likewise, and (5) the same concessions would be allowed in the case of lands belonging to temples and Brahmans. Kambaṅguḍaiyār, the person who was chiefly responsible in reclaiming these lands, was given the special privilege of collecting (?) *kaḍamai* from all the tenants who cultivated lands under his direction. This concession of charging half rates of assessment during the first year was extended also to other waste lands which might similarly be brought under cultivation year after year.[286]

A record at Āḍuturai in the Trichinopoly district (A.D. 1450) registers that the tenants (*kuḍi*) in twelve villages of Ugaḷūr Kurambarvāy śīrmai had abandoned them owing perhaps to heavy taxation, and consequently an agent of Vīramaraśar regulated the taxes at 5 *paṇams* for the first year and 10 from the following year on each *plough* of dry land, and at 8 *paṇams* on every 100 *kuḻi* of wet land.[287]

Under certain circumstances the government also exempted lands from the payment of taxes for a specified period, and fixed graded rates of assessments thereafter for the convenience of the people, so that they might bring new lands under cultivation and improve the soil. Nuniz, speaking about the use of the big lake which Kṛṣṇa Rāya constructed, says that by means of that water the people made many improvements in the city, and, "in order that they might improve their lands he (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya) gave the people lands which are irrigated by this water free for nine years until they had made their improvements, so that the revenue already amounts to 20,000 *pardaos*."[288]

In 1379 one Aṅkaya Nāyaka, the son of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Soṇṇaiya Nāyaka, the superintendent of Nondiguḷināḍu, and a few

286. 422 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 52.
287. 36 of 1913.
288. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

others exempted certain lands in the territory under his jurisdiction from the payment of taxes for two years.[289] At times though such wholesale exemptions for a specified period were not granted, assessment was made on a graded scale. Thus Namaśśivāya Nāyaka when he received the village of Śembiyamangalam as an *ulavu kāṇiyākṣi* in A.D. 1514-15, was required to pay ten *paṇams* and ten *kalams* of paddy in the first year, but in the fifth year it was raised to fifty *paṇams* and fifty *kalams* of paddy.[290]

During the time of Kṛṣṇa Rāya an order was made exempting the tenants colonising Araśarkōil from all taxes for one year and fixing the rates of certain taxes leviable from the following year.[291] An epigraph at Narattampūṇḍi in the Pōḷūr taluk of the North Arcot district mentions the gift to the temple of Aṇṇāmalaiyār of a village newly formed by and named after Kumāra Kṣṛṇamarāśayyaṉ, son of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Aḷiya Rāmappayadēva Mahārāśayyaṉ, with the remission of taxes granted to the settlers in the village for the first six years.[292]

Unforeseen mishaps to the people, like plunder or raid or the ruined condition of a village, were given due consideration, and concession was shown in the matter of the collection of taxes from the ryots affected by them. During the time of Śrī Raṅga, Nāgappa Nāyaka, the agent (*kāryakarta*) of the king gave an agreement to the merchants, weavers, etc., of Śrīraṅgarāyapura at Amṛtalūru remitting the taxes payable by them for the first three years on account of a plunder suffered by the people.[293] The ruined condition of the village of Kanakavīḍu necessitated the grant of a *cowl* to the *gauḍas* and the people of the village after remitting 90 *varāhas* of *kāṇike* in order to induce them to resettle in the village.[294]

The foregoing account of the concessions to the tax-payers gives us a clear idea of the care of the state for the welfare of the governed. The state made the necessary concessions and remission in hard cases. The inundation of the cultivated lands by unprecedentedly heavy floods resulting in the economic ruin of those

289. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 50.
290. 389 of 1912. It appears that for the intervening three years the rates of taxes increased progressively.
291. 307 of 1921.
292. 380 of 1925.
293. 629 of 1920.
294. 548 of 1915.

parts, and the plunder of the people, and such other unforeseen losses afforded the occasions for such concessions.

SECTION IV

The Department of Taxation

The Taxation Department was known as the *athavana*,[295] and was presided over by the Minister for Revenue. He was helped by a large staff of clerks at the capital in keeping regular accounts of the income of the government from the various districts and sources. Evidently the administration of this branch was divided into a large number of small departments over each of which there was a superintendent. The revenue of every district was generally in charge of an officer appointed by the government. Orders conveying the remissions of taxes or the imposition of new ones were communicated to him. Sōmappa Uḍaiyār, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Kaṁpaṇa Uḍaiyār, and Viṭṭapparaśar, the treasurer, made a gift of tolls for providing (daily) a flower garland and a lamp to the temple of Edirkoṇḍaperumāḷ at Kurumavi (a village) in Puḷināḍu. The order was issued to Meydēvar who was in charge of the taxes of Pulināḍu.[296] Another inscription from the Hoskote taluk in the Bangalore district makes mention of the tax collectors of the Eṟumuṟaināḍu and the customs officer of the Muḷuvāynāḍu.[297] Similarly we get reference in an epigraph at Śrīperumbudūr (Cg.) to the officer called the controller of tolls to whom an order was sent by Śrīgirinātha Uḍaiyār to collect on behalf of the king a duty of one *paṇam* on every loom in the *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam*.[298]

The royal order was sent to the local governors and it was entered in four registers and when a third party was involved in the matter of remissions or grants, the original order of the king was placed in the hands of the party concerned. Dēva Rāya II for instance gave an order to Śrīgirinātha of Candragiri permitting him to remit the *jōḍi* of 131 *poṉ* (*varāhaṉ*) and 6¼ *paṇams*, or 1,316¼ *paṇams* at 10 *paṇams* per *poṉ*, due to the Candragiri rājya from Tiruppukkuḻi (Cg), in order that the amount might be utilised for the temple of Pōreṟṟiperumāḷ of the place. The order further requested the

295. *E.C.*, III, Sr. 105; *E.C.*, XI, Jl. 7.
296. 309 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 51.
297. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 149.
298. 207 of 1922; see also 693 of 1919 for a reference to a similar officer.

viceroy to send his own *tīruvaccīṭṭu* to the *sthānikas* of the villages, to make copies of the king's order (*rāyasa*) in the four registers, and to place the original document in the hands of the *sthānikas* as a *śāsana*. Śrīgirinātha issued the *tīruvaccīṭṭu* in compliance with the order of the king to the *sthānikas* of Tiruppukkuḻi.[299] Here the order conveying the remission of the taxes in favour of the temple which was placed in the hands of the *sthānikas* of the temple served as their record.

But where the *nāṭṭavar* (district assembly) were responsible for the payment of revenues to the government, the communication was sent to them. In the case of such remissions, the assembly, which kept regular accounts for its income from various sources, deducted the amount thus remitted by the imperial officers both from the tax register and the village account. A valuable inscription at Pēṟaiyūr in the Pudukkoṭṭai State registers such a procedure. It records that one Tirumēni Aḻagiyār of Śūraikkuḍi set apart the amount of 150 *vāḷālvali tiṟandāṉ kuḻiśai paṇam* due annually as *paccai paṇam* from the temple for offerings to God at the service called after his name ; and that the *nāṭṭavar* (district assembly) deducted the above amount, and recorded it in the tax register and the village account.[300] This inscription clearly shows that the *nāṭṭavar* were responsible for the collection of the taxes in the nāḍu, and hence maintained the tax register and the village account. But in later days the village and the nāḍ assemblies showed signs of decay and dismemberment in their organization, and hence they were gradually deprived of the responsibility for the collection of the taxes ; and in their stead were appointed the revenue collectors and the revenue farmers who were made responsible for the collection of the taxes of the government.[301]

We see both the imperial and the local governments remitting taxes in favour of certain public institutions as a temple or a *maṭha*. Can the provincial governor or a local assembly remit

299. 172 of 1916 ; *Rep.*, 1916, para 140.

300. *I.P.S.*, 699.

301. Here it must be noted that though farming was adopted for the collection of the revenues in many parts of the Vijayanagar empire at a period when the *sabhā* was also in a flourishing condition and collected the revenues of the state for the government, it was prevalent only in a few places, and when the village assemblies showed signs of decay, naturally the system of renting out the revenues of the state had to be extended to such villages also.

taxes without the permission of the government at the headquarters? It seems that the local officers were allowed to remit certain specified taxes, while the power to remit others was reserved to the imperial government; for the power to remit taxes depended upon the nature of the revenue and the allocation of the taxes as between the local and the imperial treasuries. Taxes due to the imperial government could be remitted by the local authority only with the approval and consent of the imperial authority, while local dues could be remitted by them even without the imperial sanction. In the imposition of new local taxes or in their remission the order of the imperial government was more of an advisory character than of a mandatory nature. The marriage tax for instance seems to have been only a local tax. Generally Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya has been credited with the remission of the tax on marriages, but even during the days of Acyuta Rāya the tax continued to be levied as is shown by a few inscriptions of his period. If the tax had been an imperial one, then at one stroke of the pen the tax would have been abolished by the enlightened emperor. In an inscription dated A.D. 1540 in the Hollakere taluk of the Chitaldrug district, the people of the locality wish prosperity to the agents, *sīme hebbaruvas*, *gauḍas*, *sēnabhovas*, *seṭṭis*, *paṭṭaṇasvāmis*, and all of both sects of *nānādēśis*,[302] who were responsible for the remission of the tax on marriages in the said year. This expression of the gratitude of the people to the influential persons in the locality for the remission of the tax clearly shows that it was a local tax. Likewise the tax on the artisans seems to have been only a local one. The tax levied on them was not uniform. At Kanagāṇipaḷḷi in the Dharmavaram taluk of the Anantapūr district is found an inscription which throws some light on this question. It records an order of Īśvarayya, the agent of Vākaṭi Timmappa Nāyaṇivāru, to Bhūvi Reḍḍi Cennama Reḍḍi of Kanagāṇipaḷḷi and Karṇam Cinnaya and a few others to remit the several taxes on the artisan castes (*pāñcāḷamvāru*) of Kanagāṇipaḷḷi, from which the castes had been exempt since former times, but which were imposed in the time of Timmappa Nāyuḍu, as a result of which the *pāñcālamvāru* migrated from that *sīme* to Kuṇḍripisīme and Pākalasīme.[303] The places to which the artisan migrated were not very far away from their original place. Their migration to the adjacent *sīme* shows that in that locality no tax was levied on the *pāñcāḷas*, and if at all they were taxed, such taxes were very light

302. *E.C.*, XI, Hk. 111.
303. 340 of 1926; *Rep.*, para 43.

Such variations in the taxation system of one locality from another very near by, are indicative of the fact that many such taxes were generally local in character.

But the case of the imperial tax was quite different. It could be remitted only by the imperial government. An inscription at Sāligrām in the South Canara district throws some valuable light on this question. It records that a deputation of the *adhivāsis*, *mahājagat* and the *haggaḍes* (chiefs) of Koṭa waited on king Virūpākṣa II at his capital, Vijayanagar, in Ś. 1390 and obtained a remission of three hundred *varāhas*, being a portion of the *siddhāya* which they had to pay.[304] It is interesting to note here that Viṭṭharasa, the local governor had nothing to do with either the imposition or the remission of the tax which went to the imperial treasury. Another record from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa in the same district records a gift of 121 *honnu* made at the instance of Dēva Rāya Mahārāya by Bhanappa Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru rājya, to conduct the *bhogapātra* twice a day. It is said in the inscription that the king ordered that the amount was to be realised from the *siddhāya* tax.[305] Thus an examination of these two records leads us to conclude that the *siddhāya* tax was payable to the imperial exchequer, and had to be distributed or remitted only by the king or the imperial government. In the case of the *nāyakas* who held lands of the king on a feudal tenure, remissions of taxes by them had nothing to do with their fixed contribution to the imperial exchequer. Their remissions did not affect their fixed contributions. But the communications regarding the remissions made by the central government were sent to those who were responsible for the collection of the imperial revenues, so that they could note the remissions in their account books, to be referred to at times of revenue collection. These account books known as the *paṭṭe* contained the names of the tenants and the amount of assessment they had to pay.

At times certain taxes were remitted in return for a consolidated amount, perhaps because the items of revenue were so many and petty in detail. This arrangement was made probably to lessen the inconvenience of entering so many items in the account books. For instance the trustees of the temple of Aḻagiya Nāyiṉār at Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot district leased or farmed

304. 514 of 1928-20; *Rep.*, para 62.
305. 412 of 1927-28.

out the various taxes to the local Kaikkōḷas (weavers) on the condition that they should pay them at the rate of six *paṇams* per loom per annum in one lump.[306] In the South Arcot district Nārayya Nāyakkar issued an order to the people of Magadai maṇḍala waiving the right of levying *varuṣa kāṇikkai* in the whole paṟṟu governed by him for, as he himself has stated in the inscription, the Magadai maṇḍala was given away to the residents of the nāḍu (*nāṭṭavar*), and a certain amount of money was received as subsidy in lump sum (*kāṇikkai*) that year, and it was unlawful to collect *kāṇikkai* in subsequent years.[307] In another case Vīra Bukkaṇṇa Uḍaiyār (i.e. Bukka II) in Ś. 1326 fixed the taxes payable by the Śeṭṭis, Kaikkōḷas, and the Vāṇiyars living in the premises of the temple of Puḷippaṟakōil at 2 *paṇams* per year on each individual and 2 *paṇams* on each loom. This amount apparently covered all the taxes payable by them, i.e., *paṭṭāḍainūlāyam, aṭṭai śammādam, pērāyaccemmadam, kaiyēṟpu, mādaviraṭṭi* and *daṇṇāyakar magamai.*[308] Then again a record at Boppasandra in the Malavalli taluk of A.D. 1388 registers that Bhaṭṭa Bhāciyappa's son, Bukkaṇṇa of the lineage of Tillas, granted, with all rights and taxes named free from all imposts, the village Boppasamudra, a hamlet of Hadaravāgilu, excluding former grants for the office of *Gauḍa* and for the deities of the village to Kampaṇṇa, Cavuḍappa and others on condition of the payment of an annual rental of 40 varāhas. Among the taxes mentioned are the taxes on the threshing floor, houses and carts, *kiṟukula, beḍabinugu, grāmagadyāna, meḍideṟe, daḷavili, hādara, hombali, daṇṇayakasvāmya noṭa, nenapu, maḷabraya,* the good ox, *mallenḍige, kūḷu, koṭṭige, sollage* and *mallige.*[309] Likewise payment in cash was commuted for payment in kind, as is shown by an inscription at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi in the Rāmnad district. It registers an order of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa perumāḷ Tōṇḍaimāṉār issued to a native of Nāṭṭiṉmaṅgalam to measure a fixed quantity of paddy in lieu of the taxes due by him on certain lands in the temple of Agattīśuramuḍaiya Nāyiṉār.[310] Thus we see that such commutations were not infrequent.

Nuniz says that the king gave no receipt for the money he received from his 'captains.' He says: "He (the king) never gives any receipts to them, only, if they do not pay, they are well punish-

306. 204 of 1921; *Rep.*, para 41.
307. 109 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 69.
308. 293 of 1911; *Rep.*, para 51.
309. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
310. 120 of 1916.

ed, they are ruined, and their property taken away."[311] But it is doubtful if we can believe the words of Nuniz. It is incredible that such an elaborate machinery of administration could have been carried on without receipts for the money granted or the income derived.[312]

The financial year in the Vijayanagar days commenced in September-October, when the *Mahānavami* was celebrated for nine days. Paes says that it began on the twelfth of September,[313] and states that the new year commenced in the month of October. " At the beginning of the month of October when eleven of its days had passed......on this day begins their year; it is their New Year's Day....... They begin the year in this month with the new moon, and they count the months always from moon to moon ".[314] Thus the new year began in September-October and the accounts were cleared then. Within these nine days the king was paid all the rents that were due from his kingdom.[315] Nuniz says : " According to the lands and revenues that they have so the king settles for them ......how much revenue they have to pay him every month during the first nine days of the month of September ".[316] According to him the dues to the imperial government seem to have been payable every month in accordance with an assessment made annually in the month of September.

Section V

The Burden of Taxation

Now before closing this chapter it remains for us to examine how the burden of taxation was felt by the people. Sir Thomas Munro in one of his letters observes : " However light Indian

311. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

312. We get a reference to receipts in Travancore in the 17th century. Two copies of a record of K.A. 873 in the Travancore State make reference to the grant of receipts. The epigraph under reference says, " when the taxes of *mēlvāram* and *pāṭṭam* are paid the receipt shall be obtained by showing the receipts for the previous year." (*nāṇḍaikkuṛiyum talaikkuṛiyum kāṭṭi* . . .) (*T.A.R.*, V, Nos. 71 and 72; pp. 211 and 215). It may be asked how the idea of granting receipts could not have been known in Vijayanagar also.

313. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

314. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-82.

315. *Ibid.*, p. 379.

316. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

revenue may be in the books of their sages, only a sixth or a fifth, in practice it has always been heavy....No person who knows anything of Indian revenue can believe that the ryot, if his fixed assessment were only a fifth or a fourth of the gross produce, would not every year, whether good or bad, pay it without difficulty, and not only do this, but prosper under it beyond what he has ever done at any former period........I never could discover the least foundation for the assumption that the Hindu assessment had been raised by the Mahomedan conquest, or for believing that the assessment which we find, did not exist before that period.......The few imperfect records which have reached us of the revenues of Vijayanagar, the last of the great Hindu powers, do not show that the assessment was lighter under that government than under its Mahomedan successors."[317] A study of the inscriptions of the period leads us to the conclusion that at certain periods of Vijayanagar history the taxes were heavy. The people could not bear the weight of such heavy taxation and hence were at times forced to sell their lands to meet the government demands. A record at Tirukkalakkudi in the Rāmnāḍ district registers the sale of land to the temple of Tirukkōḷakkuḍi Āṇḍa Nāyaṉār by the Maṟavas of Vēlaṅguḍi in Pūṅguṉṟa nāḍu in order to pay the taxes due by them on their holdings. The lands were sold under very distressing circumstances, and the Maṟavas had no other means of discharging their dues to the government.[318] In the year 1519 the owners of lands and *pāḍikāval* rights in and around Tiruvaraṅguḷam in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State were forced to sell their lands for repaying a loan which they had originally taken from the temple treasury for clearing up certain dues, *vēṇḍugōḷ*, *viniyōgam*, erčōru, *kūṟṟariśi* and *veṭṭimuṭṭaiyāḷ*. They had to sell their lands for they were otherwise unable to pay the demands made by the Svāmi Narasā Nāyakkar on behalf of the government.[319]

Sometimes the authorities were opposed by the people in the levy of the taxes. The local organisations like the village assembly and the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* 98 sects joined together and opposed the *rājagaram*. On a few occasions after due deliberation they themselves fixed certain rates of taxes which they would pay to the government. In the year 1429

317. *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, pp. 237-8.
318. 50 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 64.
319. *I.P.S.*, 733.

at Tiruvaigāvūr in the Tanjore district, the assembled residents of Parāntakanāḍu and the *Valaṅgai* and the *Iḍaṅgai* sects arrived at a settlement with regard to the payment of their dues to he king. In the preamble to their decision they traced the reasons for their adoption of that procedure, and said: "From the time of the Kannaḍiyas (Hoyśālas) the district had been declared to be the *jīvitaparru* of the (temple) servants; taxes were not collected by one single person; the lands were leased out (*aḍavōlai*) to other persons and *puravari* taxes were collected. In this way the whole district came to be ruined." After stating in such a preamble the difficulties the people were suffering under on account of the heavy taxes imposed on them, they fixed the rates of taxes to be levied on their lands taking into account the nature of the tenure under which the lands were held. They finally decided that no body should collect the taxes otherwise than in the schedule without the consent of the assembled body (*maṇḍala*) of people.[320]

At Vṛddhācalam in the South Arcot district the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* sects went a step farther and decided to offer civil resistance to the government. "The officers of the king (*rājanya*) and the owner of *jīvitas* oppressed the people . . . and the Kāṇiyālan and the Brahmans took the *rājagaram* (taxes). Hence the two castes decided that they should not give them shelter, or write accounts for them, or agree to their proposals, and that if any one proved a traitor to the country (by acting against the settlement) he should be stabbed."[321] The inscription which records this, though fragmentary, clearly shows that there was great oppression in the levy and the collection of taxes on the part of the officers of the king. A record at Korukkai in the Tanjore district registers an agreement among the members of the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* sects who formed themselves into an organised body to offer civil resistance against bad and oppressive government, and resolved as follows: "Because they did not tax us according to the yield of the crop, but levied the taxes unjustly......we were about to run away. Then we realised that because we of the whole country (*maṇḍalam*) were not united in a body. we were unjustly dealt with....Hereafter we shall just pay what is just and in accordance with the yield of the crops and we shall not pay anything levied unlawfully." Then they fixed the rates of taxes to be paid on the wet and dry produce of lands, on the produce of trees, such as jack,

320. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
321. 92 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68.

areca, palmyra, plantains, sugarcane, on red lotus, artemesia, castor plants, sesamum, turmeric, ginger, etc. and on professions of fishermen, potters, weavers, barbers, washermen, oilmongers, toddydrawers and painters.[322]

Similarly at Peṉṉāḍam in the South Arcot district, the same *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* sects formed themselves into a body to oppose coercion and oppression by the officers of the government. The two records registering this state that the 98 sub-sections of these communities living in the districts on the northern bank of the Kāvērī, Mērkānadu, in Virudarājabhayaṅkaravaḷanādu, the 18 *parṟus* of Iruṅgōḷapāṇḍi-vaḷanāḍu etc., " having assembled in full numbers in the temple of Tūṅgāṉaimāḍam Uḍaiyār at Peṉṉāḍam *alias* Muḍikoṇḍaśōla caturvēdimaṅgalam drafted a bond of union to the effect that if the *Pradhāni vaṉṉiyar* and the *Jīvitakkārar* used any coercive measures against them, if any landed proprietors among the *Brāhmaṇas* or the *Veḷḷāḷas* caused any harm to them through the revenue officials, if any of them submitted to unjust taxation or dessiminated false tales or caused damage to documents (presumably formulating their communal rights), if any one in the *maṇḍalam* accepted service as an accountant or was guilty of *nāṭṭudrōham*, the assemblies of these communities shall, as on this occasion, meet and decide the form of punishment to be meted out to the offenders."[323]

Not only this. In certain parts of the empire where the people were not well united to offer civil resistance, they abandoned their original homes and migrated elsewhere. To prevent such migrations or, when they had migrated, to call them back to their old villages the government had to reduce the taxes. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya truly says in his *Āmuktamālyada* that "the king is never prosperous even though he conquers the seven *Dvīpas* who has an officer who does not call back the subjects when they leave the state on account of suffering."[324] Thus during the time of Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyār the weavers of Perunagar left their district and migrated elsewhere on account of heavy taxation, even without paying the government dues. Hence the state reduced certain taxes payable by them, and persuaded them to resettle in their territories.[325]

322. 216 of 1917 ; *Rep.*, para 68.
323. 246 and 254 of 1928-29 ; *Rep.*, para 79.
324. Canto IV, v. 237.
325. 370 of 1923.

About 1446 the taxes seem to have weighed heavily on the people in certain parts of the empire. An epigraph at Tiruvaḍi in the South Arcot district records that as the taxes *iṉavari* and *iḍaṅgaivari* collected from the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* communities were exorbitant, and the villages were distressed and the people migrated to other places, the country became depopulated, the king sent an order to Nāgarasa Uḍaiyār authorising him to cancel all those taxes.[326] In the Salem district, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the people seem to have laboured under oppressive taxes, and hence the inhabitants of the districts (*nāṭṭār*) of Magadai maṇḍalam left the country. Therefore to stop such migrations Tyāgaṇa Nāyaka, who was perhaps the local chief, granted a pledge (*aḍaiōlai*) to the people.[327]

In the South Arcot district at the beginning of the sixteenth century taxes were heavy, besides much oppression on the part of the government. Hence Triṇētranātha Kaccirāyar, son of Paḷḷigoṇḍa Perumāḷ Kaccirāyar, who was the governor in the locality about Śrīmuṣṇam, revised the rates of taxes "which had become exorbitant in the time when the country was in the hands of the Kannaḍiyas. The cultivators owing to oppression had dispersed and the *svarūpa* (?) was scattered. He ordered (1) that the lands be measured year after year with the standard rod of 34 feet; (2) that 15 *paṇams* (including all items of taxation) be levied on one *mā* of dry land and 20 *paṇams* on one *mā* of wet land; (3) that towards *araśupēṟu* ⅛ *paṇam* be levied on each tenant, 3 *paṇams* on each loom of Śeṭṭis, 2 *paṇams* on Kammāḷa agriculturists, 3 *paṇams* on Kaikkōḷa weavers and (4) towards *idaituṟai* be collected ¼ *paṇam* on eight sheep."[328] But even this new arrangement seems to have pressed heavily on the people. Hence they again left their villages to other parts. Therefore Śiṉṉappa Nāyakkar, brother of *Vāśal* Ādiyappa Nāyaka, fixed favourable rates of assessment in Ś. 1435 (A.D. 1513-14). The following are the details of the new arrangement. The permanent settlement of *kaḍamai kāṇikkai, kūḍi, māḍukāṇikkai, puṟavari* and *viniyōgam* fixed 28 *paṇams* on wet lands and 22 on dry lands for such residents as resided in the districts; 20 *paṇams* on wet lands and 15 *paṇams* on dry lands for those who were going and coming; and again 15 *paṇams* on wet lands and 10 on dry lands to those that lived outside.[329]

326. 476 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 46. See also *Rep.* for 1907, para 55.
327. 422 of 1913.
328. 247 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 64.
329. 246 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 66.

Cinnappa Nāyaka of Tanjore in the year Svabhānu exempted the five classes of Kammāḷar, blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, architects and brass workers, from the payment of the taxes of *kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, pākkukkaṭṭāyam* and *talaiyārikkam*, as they had decided to emigrate elsewhere when forced to pay them, owing to their inability to pay.[330] During the reign of Acyuta Rāya also the people of Madiyaṇi Vaḍaparṟu were taxed heavily, and such taxes were collected rigorously by an officer called Rāyappa Nāyakkar from his camp at Tiruppattūr. The residents were not able to pay the taxes due from their village, *kaḍamai* and *kāṇikkai.* Hence a few of them sold their lands to the authorities of the temple of Tirupūvālaikuḍi Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār, while several families left the village being unable to pay their portion of the tax.[331]

Likewise the north-eastern part of the empire seems to have been oppressed by the officers. Hence the *gavuḍas* and other people of the Kavaṭālada śīme, unable to tolerate the injustice (*avanāya*) of the government officers, migrated to Masaveya śīme. Therefore the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Salakayadēva Cika Tirumalarāja Mahā araśu came to Āḍavāṇi in Ś 1454, pacified the people, and induced them to reoccupy the Kavaṭāla district by offering them favourable terms of cultivation and occupation.[332] In A.D. 1533-34 the artisan classes in the Kaṅganipaḷḷe śīme migrated as a body from their original possessions to Pākala and Kuṇḍiripi śīmes owing to heavy taxation, and the government immediately interfered in the matter and remitted the taxes.[333]

Nuniz has something to say about the nature of the revenue collections made under the Vijayanagar emperors. He says: "For this reason the common people suffer much hardship those who hold the lands being so tyrannical..... As already said, all the land belongs to the king and from his hand the captains hold it. They make it over to the husbandmen who pay nine-tenths to their lord; and they have no land of their own, for the kingdom belongs entirely to the king".[334] Nuniz may be wrong both in this calculation and in his statement that all lands belonged to the king. Sewell comments on this observation of the chronicler thus: "Whether true or not this statement, coming as it does from a

330. 413 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 57.
331. *I.P.S.*, 748.
332. 492 of 1915; *Rep.*, 1916, para 69.
333. 340 of 1926; *Rep.*, para 43.
334. Sewell, *op. cit.*. pp. 373 and 79.

totally external source, strongly supports the view often held that the ryots of South India were grievously oppressed by the nobles when subject to Hindu government. Other passages in both these chronicles each of which was written quite independently of the other confirm the assertion here made as to the mass of the people being ground down and living in the greatest poverty and distress."[335]

Sewell's remark is too sweeping. Though we have much strong epigraphical and literary evidence to show that the taxes were heavy at certain periods, and that the people suffered much during such periods we may not be correct in taking that such oppression on the part of the government was either continuous or universal. Complaints about heavy taxation and oppression by the officials were due, as the inscriptions themselves say, to the occupation of the Kannaḍiyas. The period of the Sāḷuvas was one of oppression of the people, when taxation was heavy, and was perhaps combined with rigorous collection. Later too the people were oppressed more by the governors than by the imperial government itself. Such oppression was felt more owing to the method adopted with regard to the collection of the revenue than to the inherent nature of the taxes themselves.

This is shown by a few inscriptions of the period. An epigraph at Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot district details the several taxes and contributions realised from the *devadāna* village and adds that the total annual value of these several taxes was only 12 *poṉ*. As the Government Epigraphist remarks, " this, if it could be taken as the average, suggests that the assessment of the several taxes in coin and contributions in kind must have adopted a very low rate."[336]

An epigraph of A.D. 1414-15 at Perunagar in the Chingleput district records the fixing of the amount of consolidated taxes from the weavers, oilmongers and the other commercial classes in return for their burning a perpetual lamp in the local temple.[337] Another inscription in the Mulbāgal taluk of the Kōlār district in the Mysore State registers that Muḷuvāyi Hariyappa gave to the merchant Śaṅkapa Śeṭṭi a *śāsana* remitting the fixed rent of 2 *haṇa* he paid,

335. *Ibid.*, p. 379, *fn.* 2. See also *India Before the English*, by R. Sewell, pp. 36-58.

336. 32 of 1922; *Rep.*, para 45.

337. 367 of 1923.

besides many taxes on condition he presented daily 2 betel leaves to the temple at Muḷuvāyi.[338] These inscriptions clearly prove that though the items of taxation payable in kind and cash were many, the burden of taxation was not much, for here we see a regular commutation of a variety of taxes, customary and otherwise, for comparatively small returns.

Thus we see that side by side with the inscriptions which record the oppressive taxes, and the consequent difficulties of the people which drove them to the extent of either selling their lands to pay the government dues, or, where there was some organization among them, of offering civil resistance to the government, or where the people were not well organised, of migrating elsewhere from the district, there are some others which show that taxation was not so very heavy under the Vijayanagar government. But it cannot be said that the Vijayanagar taxes conformed to the ancient proportion of one-sixth, for many of the kings took advantage of every opportunity to increase the revenues of the state, and collected their dues with the utmost rigour. But it has been the practice to exaggerate the oppressive character of the taxes imposed on the people. Really the people were opposed to the method of collection rather than the items of taxes or the burden of taxation, for it is the method of collection which largely makes the people feel taxes either heavy or light.

Section VI

Expenditure

In all Hindu empires the cash expenditure of the government on account of administration was considerably small. The administration was conducted on traditional lines, and there was no necessity for the payment of all the officers of the state. They were generally paid in the shape of grants of *sarvamānyams* which they enjoyed without paying tax to the government or certain taxes were made over to them. The humbler servants of the government were granted likewise service *ināms* and *mānyams* which they also enjoyed tax-free as remuneration for their services. The Vijayanagar kings did not try to maintain a huge naval force, which, if they had organised, would have consumed a large portion of their financial resources. The right of policing (*pāḍikāval*)

338. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 20.

was largely leased out to the local people, who vied with one another for securing that right for themselves. This to some extent relieved the government of its responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order in the country, and of an enormous expenditure on that account. Justice too was not always the concern of the state, at least in practice. Disputes, both civil and criminal, were generally decided locally by the caste men and the village elders, and seldom reached the royal court. Hence there was no regular gradation of courts of justice maintained at the expense of the government. Unlike in the modern day, in the mediaeval period education was largely a private concern. The state did not take any elaborate measures for the spread of education among the people. Further a liberal education was not a necessity in those days, for the choice of occupation was dependent on the caste. Thus the government had no large expenditure on these accounts.

A few items of expenditure, specially the military which swallowed a large portion of the revenue, deserve consideration. In the *Āmuktamālyada* we read : "The expenditure of money which is utilised in buying elephants and horses, in feeding them, in maintaining soldiers, in the worship of Gods and Brahmans and in one's own enjoyment can never be called an expenditure."[339] What with the constant menace of the wars with the Bahmani Sultans, what with the insubordination and rebellions of refractory feudal chiefs within the dominions, and what with the expansion of the empire on all sides, the Vijayanagar government had a large military expenditure. Nuniz notes that "of these sixty lakhs that the king has of revenue every year, he does not enjoy a larger sum than twenty-five lakhs, for the rest is spent on his horses and elephants, and foot soldiers and cavalry whose cost he defrays."[340] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya for instance purchased horses from the Arabs at competitive prices to strengthen his army. The Vijayanagar kings had a standing army at the capital ever ready for wars. It is not difficult to imagine what a large amount of recurring expenditure this item alone would have demanded. But it is interesting to note here in passing that this standing army of the kings was only a fraction of the huge armies that were collected at times of war, for the latter were composed not only of this regular standing army but also of the feudal levies.

339. Canto IV. v. 262.
340. Sewell. *op. cit.*, pp. 373-4.

The next large item of public expenditure was that on the public endowments and charities. No temple escaped the attention of the kings, and no public institution failed to get their fostering care. Inscriptions are scattered throughout South India which record the benefactions of the Vijayanagar kings. They constructed new temples, renovated a large number of old ones, renewed grants already made, and instituted festivals and worship in temples. Many a time taxes were remitted in favour of temples for their maintenance and repair. According to the accounts of Nuniz, Mallikārjuna granted to the pagodas a fifth part of the revenue of his kingdom.[341] Though the kings themselves were not always as learned as Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, they honoured learning and learned men. It was in the royal courts that scholars of different schools of thought met together to discuss their views on abstruse philosophical subjects, and held controversies. The ruling kings took interest in such discussions and honoured the scholars by making them rich presents and granting tax-free villages.

The next charge on the Vijayanagar finances was in the direction of irrigation and public works. The period of the Vijayanagar supremacy was marked by the construction of tanks and lakes, and the making of large irrigation works for agricultural purposes. The kings prided themselves in undertaking and executing these great works of public utility. The allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting also received great encouragement under them.

The harem of the kings consumed a considerable portion of the revenues of the state. Almost all the foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar did not fail to be struck by the number and riches of the harem. We have got exaggerated accounts about the number of women in the palace of the king. But there is no denying the fact that the cost of maintaining such a harem must have been enormous. Further the age was one of pageantry and show. Much money was wasted in dress, in drinks, and on women and on much other unproductive expenditure to please the tastes of the kings, which resulted in a drain on the public exchequer.

In modern times, with the advance made in the monetary systems and the development of banking facilities, the need for hoarding the precious metals, especially the yellow one, is rapidly declining. But in ancient and mediaeval days the monetary

341. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

systems were still in a rude stage. Hence not only the people in those days, but also the government, hoarded the precious metals. Krsnadēva Rāya in his *Āmuktamālyada* divides the king's income into four parts, and says that one part should be used for extensive benefactions and for enjoyment, two parts for the maintenance of a strong army and one part added to the treasury.[342] That the Vijayanagar kings hoarded a large quantity of treasure is also testified to by Paes who describes the way in which the kings hoarded wealth. He says: "The previous kings of this place for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which treasury, after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any one, nor opened, nor do the kings who succeed to the kingdom open them or see what is in them. They are not opened except when the kings have great need, and thus the kingdom has great supplies to meet its needs. This king (Krsnadēva Rāya) has made his treasury different from those of the previous kings, and he puts in it every year ten million *pardaos* without taking from them one *pardao* more than for the expenses of his house. The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in the houses of his wives, of whom I have already told you that he keeps near him 12,000 women; from this you will be able to judge how great is the richness of this kingdom and how great the treasure that this king has amassed."[343] The hoarding of money was a necessity in those days to meet large unexpected demands when wars broke out. Occasionally measures had to be undertaken to alleviate the sufferings of the people during bad times. Thus this money was spent only on national purposes.

There seem to have been two other treasuries besides this one where coins and money were hoarded. One was the Golden Treasury where perhaps gold was accumulated,[344] and the other was the Diamond Treasury[345] where diamonds were accumulated.

342. Canto IV, v. 238.
343. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
344. 380 of 1918; *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 172.
345. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389; 387 of 1920.

CHAPTER IV

LAW. JUSTICE AND POLICE

SECTION I

Law

In the modern sense of the term law means a body of rules and regulations made by the sovereign authority for the guidance of the society over which it exercises control. But laws in India had a different character. They were so closely interwoven with religion and ethics that they were largely found in the religious literature of the country. The Vedas are the main source of such laws. *Vyavahāra* or law as a separate department is not treated of in them ; but in as much as they try to regulate the life of the Hindus and prescribe for them punishments for lapses from their prescribed duties, they can be said to contain some portions dealing with law. The Dharma Śāstras also cannot be said to treat exclusively of law, for they are more in the nature of compilations and compositions based on the Vedas and written for the guidance of the Hindu society by jurists like Manu and Nārada. These jurists were, however, only codifiers of existing laws, and not makers of laws. To this class of literature also belong the *Purāṇas* and the epics like the *Mahābhārata* which are also considered to be authoritative works dealing with law.

Custom was another source of law. Based as they are on the Vedas, the Dharma Śāstras are only codifications of the customary laws of the land. This custom is the *sadācāra* of the people. In determining the nature of the laws in India their codifiers took into consideration the immemorial customs prevalent among the people, the manners of particular countries and the observances of the different castes and tribes in their daily activities. Hindu society has developed with the advance of time and hence diversity is its principal feature. It comprises different types of social groups each with its own law to govern and guide its conduct. Since the codifications were based on the practices of the people, the codifiers had to recognise the various customary laws of the different social groups. But a customary law could have the sanction of law only when it does not conflict with the scriptural law or the sacred law of the land. Should there be a conflict, the latter is to pre-

vail. That customs change among a people with the advance of time is indicated by new interpretations or applications given to written laws by later commentators. Such commentaries were necessary for the exposition of the fundamental laws in the light of the experience of the society. As Dr. Jolly remarks, "the latest stage of Indian legal literature is formed by the commentaries and systematic works which have been developed from the Smṛtis from the early mediaeval age. As the products of a new age and inspired by mighty princes and ministers these extensive compilations gradually drove the Smṛtis so completely out of vogue that at the time of the establishment of British rule in India the *Mitākṣara*, a law compendium of the eleventh century, was the standard work in the greater part of India."[1] Another of such commentaries is the *Parāśaramādhavīyam*, a commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* by Mādhava, the value of which for an examination of the judicial organisation under the Vijayanagar kings we shall discuss subsequently.

Such were the sources of Hindu laws. Since they were not made by man, he could not change or alter them, but he was only to obey their behests. The state, which was the repository of all sovereign power, had only to enforce the laws. The Hindu king, who was the supreme head of the state, was himself no law-maker. He was as much subject to the laws as any other person. Besides he was their support. The duty of the king was to enforce the existing laws on his subjects.

The importance of the application of *daṇḍa* or punishment has been brought out with remarkable force by Manu. He says: "It is *daṇḍa* that rules the subjects, it is only *daṇḍa* that protects all people; *daṇḍa* is awake when others sleep; hence according to the learned *daṇḍa* is *Dharma* itself."[2] The value of *daṇḍa* was well understood by the Vijayanagar kings. They felt that punishment was an essential condition for the maintenance of law and order in society. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says in his *Āmuktamālyada*: "The wife's attachment to her husband, the proper relations between men and women, the ascetic subduing his *indriyas*, the lower castes showing deference to the higher, the servant looking carefully to the interests of the master, you should know that all these are brought about (ultimately) by the fear of the king's punish-

1. *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 3.
2. *Manu*, vii, 18.

ment."[3] For enforcing the laws the king should possess enormous powers. The same royal author again says: "It is essential that a king should enforce his commands. Even the Ābhīras and the Bhillas of the forest are able to enforce their orders as by the sign of the arrow and the piece of thread. Much more therefore is it necessary that an emperor (*Sārvabhauma*) should be able to enforce his commands."[4] Thus the sovereign authority should have the power to enforce the laws on the people.

According to the Vijayanagar kings the primary duties of the state were the preservation of society and the prevention of the conflict of interests between the various castes and communities in the empire. These could be achieved by following the precept of *Dharma*. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya explains how it is necessary that *Dharma* should be adhered to. He says: "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards *Dharma*......skilfully fulfilling your *Dharma* you get rid of your three-fold debt". And in another place he remarks: "If, when a king is bestowing equal attention to the *vargas*, *dharma* (religion), *artha* (wealth) and *kāma* (love), by chance he shows more attention to *dharma*, it would be like allowing surplus water intended to irrigate other fields to overflow and fertilize cornfields. It would only conduce to the enjoyment of the sovereign."[5] Doubts may arise as to the sin involved in ruling an empire. But Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya has a ready answer to dispel this doubt, and he says that if a king acts in the public interests and in doing his work inflicts punishments on the offenders, he is only following the path of *Dharma* and not incurring any sin.[6] The royal author also remarks: "Curiously enough a man is said to be a follower of *Dharma* though he kills (wrong-doers), one is called a bachelor, *Brahmacāri*, (though he takes a wife if he is moderate in his love); one is called a truthful man though he utters falsehood (in the special circumstances permitted by the *Dharma*); he is said to fast though he eats (if he is moderate); one is called a hero though he turns back (from those whom he ought not to fight); one is called rich though he spends money (for worthy objects)."[7]

3. Canto, IV, v. 277.

4. *Āmukta*, canto IV, v. 206. It was the practice among the forest tribes to issue a pass without which it was difficult for them to go from one place to another.

5. *Ibid.*, IV, vv. 285 and 282.

6. *Ibid.*, v. 284.

7. *Ibid.*, v. 278.

We get some idea of certain specific laws like the law of treason, the law of limitation and the law governing the enjoyment of service *ināms* in the Vijayanagar days. Firstly treason against the state or the king was considered a heinous offence,[8] and more than that treason against associations (*saṅgha*) and the community as a whole (*samudāya*) was very much detested. This was accepted even by the ruling sovereigns. Bukka I, who brought about a compromise between the Jainas and the Vaiṣṇavas in A.D. 1368, declared: "He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the king, a traitor to the *saṅgha* and the *samudāya*."[9] The punishment for such treason was immediate execution. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya insists upon men of a treasonous nature being immediately executed.[10] This was the original idea of the law of treason.

But the people at times formed themselves into associations to oppose the tyranny of the ruling sovereigns or their agents, and considered it treason against the country if the people submitted to "petty coercion and oppression" by the government. It has been noted that according to a record at Vṛddhācalam in the South Arcot district the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* sects of the place met together and decided that since they were oppressed by the officers of the king and the owners of *jīvitas*, and taxes were demanded of them by the Brahmans and the *Kāṇiyāḷar*, they should not give shelter to them or write accounts for them, and also declared that one who acted against their agreement was a traitor to the country and hence was to be stabbed.[11] Reference has also been made earlier to another inscription from Peṇṇāḍam also in the same district according to which the ninety-eight subsections of the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* classes living in certain districts reached an agreement not to submit to unjust taxation among other things, and to declare some acts as constituting *nāṭṭudrōham* and punish them accordingly.[12] Though *nāṭṭudrōham* is not defined here, it is implied that the doing of particular acts may be held to amount to treason against

8. A record of the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya states that he who violated the grant referred to in it was to be deemed a traitor to the feet of the king. (*M.A.R.*, 1918, para 110). According to another record of A.D. 1371 a person who did not pay for the expenses of worship in a particular temple was to be looked upon as a traitor conspiring to murder the king of the very *nādu* in which he was born. (*E.C.* I, 2nd Edition, p. 55).

9. *E.C.*, II, Sb. 344.

10. *Āmukta*, canto IV, v. 243.

11. 92 of 1918; *Rep.*, 1918, para 68.

12. *Ante*, pp. 93-4; 246 and 254 of 1928-29; *Rep.*, para 79.

the country and may be punished accordingly. Thus the interpretation of the law of treason differed with the body or authority that had to do it. While the king and the government considered an act not conforming to a rule or not following a law as amounting to treason against the king and the people, the people who had certain grievances against the government were of opinion that to obey the government which did not care for the interests of the governed amounted to treason against the community, which according to them was of a graver nature than treason against the constituted authority.

In the modern day, it is said that after a period of twelve years one's claim to a property, if it is in the possession of another, becomes debarred by the law of limitation. Almost the same law prevailed in the Vijayanagar days. Mortgaged lands could be in the name of the mortgagee only for a period of twelve years. In Ś. 1565, one Siddha Rāmappa Nāyaka, a subordinate of Śrī Raṅga III issued an order that the *Kāpus*, who had held any temple or Brahman lands on "mortgage by possession" (*bhōga-āyakam*), should restore the lands to the original owners after twelve years of enjoyment without demanding any money from them, giving them at the same time written deeds (*bhōga patra*) recording the reconveyance. The order was issued with the consent of the *Reddis*, *Karṇams* and the other people of the place (*sthala*). As the Government Epigraphist remarks, "the legislation appears evidently to have been made as a remedy against the conveyance by the owners of these lands for long periods to the *Kāpus* in consideration of the loans paid on such usufructory mortgages decidedly favourable to the mortgagee. Even now the temple lands in many cases are mortgaged under similar conditions to the great disadvantage and detriment of the charities intended by their original donors."[13]

An epigraph at Tiruppukuli in the Chingleput district dated A.D. 1438-39 discloses certain interesting details about the law concerning the inalienable nature of service *ināms*. According to it lands granted as service *ināms* were neither to be sold nor mortgaged by the parties who received them, but if they should violate the law they would have to suffer the punishment that traitors to the king and the community would suffer, and in addition to this they were liable to be fined by the officers of the temple treasury.[14]

13. 691 of 1917; *Rep.*, 1918, para 77.
14. 193 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916, para 60.

SECTION II

Courts of Justice

Having described the nature of the laws of the Hindus and how far the Vijayanagar kings adhered to their spirit, we may examine here the judicial organisation in the period. The first problem that presents itself to us is how far the courts and laws of the Hindus that were in existence in ancient India were allowed to continue during the Vijayanagar period. Wilson who examined this question came to the conclusion that the regulations that were made for and followed in the ancient Hindu courts could be assigned " to a period not long subsequent to the Code of Manu, if not contemporary."[15] In this connection the views of Mountstuart Elphinstone are also of great interest. Speaking about the administration of justice in his own day he says: " The regular administration of justice by permanent courts which is provided for in Manu and of which the tribunals with their several powers are recorded by later writers, is hardly observed by any Hindu government. The place of those tribunals is in part taken by commissions appointed in a summary way by the prince, generally granted by motives of court favour and often composed of persons suited to the object of the protecting courtier. In part, the courts are replaced by bodies of arbitrators, called Panchayets........"[16] But there are some who hold a different view on this question. They think that the ancient Hindu courts continued to remain in force during the Vijayanagar period as well. On this question a recent writer has certain interesting observations to make. Speaking about the *Parāśaramādhavīyam* of Mādhava, he says, that that treatise though purporting to be a part of Mādhava's commentaries on *Parāśarasmṛti*, is not really based on that Smṛti, for Parāśara did not treat of law at all; that Mādhava supplied the omission by collecting what was said on the subject in the other Smṛtis, and that his dissertation is a digest of jurisprudence based on those Smṛtis. He adds that Mādhavācārya had a great part in laying the foundations of the Vijayanagar empire at the commencement of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and since at that time the Muhammadans had not yet succeeded in extending their rule to the south of the river Kṛṣṇā, we may fairly presume

15. Mill, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 213 *fn.*

16. *History of India*, 9th Edn., pp. 90-91; see also Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 490-500 for an interesting disquisition on the *Hindu Courts of Justice*.

that the procedure which he describes in his work was in use in his time in South India at any rate.[17]

But it is difficult to accept these conclusions. It is true that the *Parāśarasmṛti* contains no section dealing with *Vyavahāra* and Mādhava supplied the omission by adding a section on *Vyavahāra* to his commentary, using for this supplement the works of ancient authors containing sections on law. But he does not seem to have drawn any inference from or made any use of the current practices of his day. The authors whom he largely quotes and makes use of are also ancient, though a few of them might have been posterior to Parāśara. It is a fact that the writing of this treatise coincided in point of time with the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in which he had a large share. But Mādhava did not write this legal treatise on substantive and adjective law for the practical guidance of the Vijayanagar sovereigns. He was not the Kauṭalya of the Vijayanagar court.

In dealing with adjective law Mādhava, on the authority of Bṛhaspati, divides for instance, regular courts as stationary and circuit, and courts presided over by the king, and courts presided over by judges appointed under the king's seal. Ramayya Pantulu thinks that the kings as a rule presided over the supreme courts in person, and that they appointed judges to preside over the provincial courts, over which they could not themselves preside.[18] But these recommendations do not appear to have been followed in the Vijayanagar court. There is no evidence to show that there were circuit courts then. Further, we have good evidence to indicate that the provincial governors held their own courts in their respective areas and dispensed justice as the king did at the capital irrespective of the fact whether there was a judge holding his court in the same place or not.

Mādhava, on the authority of Kātyāyana, divides the day into eight parts, and suggests that courts were to be held in the

17. J. Ramayya Pantulu, *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, pp. 105-106

18. प्रतिष्ठिताऽप्रतिष्ठिता मुद्रिता शास्त्रिता तथा ।
चतुर्विधासभाप्रोक्ता सभ्याश्चैव तथाविधाः ॥
प्रतिष्ठिता पुरेग्रामे चला नामाप्रतिष्ठिता ।
मुद्रिताऽध्यक्षसंयुक्ता राजयुक्ताचशास्त्रिता ॥

Parāśaramādhavīyam, Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. III, pp. 18-19 and *Q.J.A.H.R.S.*, II, p. 108.

second, third and fourth parts of the day.[19] But Nuniz says that the king came to the public court only at about 10 or 11 a.m.[20] We have to infer that the courts were held at Vijayanagar in the noon time only and not in the morning hours as enjoined in the *Parāśaramādhavīya*.

Thus the available evidence points to the fact that the system of judicial organisation that obtained at Vijayanagar was in many respects not the same as the one prescribed in Mādhava's *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*. Certain changes may have crept into the system due to the progress of time. In the light of such difficulties we have to handle the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* of the *Parāśaramādhavīya* with great caution.

We have no reliable source to draw from for a detailed knowledge of the machinery of the Vijayanagar judicial administration. The inscriptions of the period refer to certain crimes committed by the people and record how they were punished. The chroniclers also are helpful only in ascertaining certain details with regard to the administration of criminal justice in the empire. We do not know exactly how civil suits involving the determination of law were decided. Civil cases seem to have largely been decided by arbitration though we hear also of special judges for deciding such cases as at the capital. On this subject the observations of Sir H. S. Maine are of some interest. He says: "Though the Brahminical written law assumes the existence of king and judge, yet at the present moment in some of the best governed semi-independent Native States, there are no institutions corresponding to our courts of justice. Disputes of a civil nature are adjusted by the elders of each village community, or occasionally when they relate to land, by the functionaries charged with the collection of the Prince's revenue. Such criminal jurisdiction, as is found, consists in the interposition of the military power to punish breaches of the peace of more than ordinary gravity. What must be called criminal law is administered through the arm of the soldier."[21] But the latter part of this statement is open to question. Though it might have been true of the period in which he

19. दिवसस्याष्टमम् भागम् मुक्ताकालत्रयश्चयत् ।
सकालोऽव्यवहाराणां शास्त्र दृष्टः परः स्मृतः ॥
Ibid., p. 18; *Q.J.A.H.S.*, II, p. 109.

20. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

21. *Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 71.

wrote his book, it cannot be applied to the Vijayanagar period; for in that period the soldier was not the administrator of criminal law, but only the king or some other body or person invested with administrative authority.

As in all empires under a monarchical constitution, so in the Vijayanagar empire, the king was the chief judge. But it would appear that he did not dispense justice in all the cases that appeared before his court. There was a judge who administered justice on behalf of the king. It is about that officer that Abdur Razāk writes: "A eunuch called *Danāik* sits alone upon a raised platform, and presides over the administration; and below it the mace bearers stand, drawn up in a row on each side. Whoever has any business to transact advances between the lines of mace bearers, offers some trifling present, places his face upon the ground, and standing upon his legs again, represents his grievances. Upon this the *Danāik* issues orders founded upon the rules of justice prevalent in that country, and no other person has any power of remonstrance."[22] This description by the Persian ambassador shows that there was a judge at the capital for dispensing justice. Commenting on this Saletore remarks: "The *Danāik* of 'Abdur Razzāk was evidently a *daṇṇāyaka* or military commander; and if we are to rely on the evidence of the Persian Ambassador, the Vijayanagara monarchs entrusted the duty of administering justice to an officer of the army, or to one who had seen service as a general. If this were really the case, no graver error could have been committed by the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara, since such a procedure would have meant the violation of one of the most important injunctions of the ancient lawgivers in regard to the administration of justice........A *daṇḍanāyaka* or military commander was in no sense a substitute for a Brahman learned in the Smṛtis. . . . . The fact that 'Abdur Razzāk is positive about the name of the high dignitary who administered justice makes one suspect that the rulers of Vijayanagara had indeed acted, at least in the important question of the composition of what may be called the court of chief justice, contrary to the classical notions of *daṇḍa*."[23] But it must be noted here that the term *Daṇḍanāyaka* was not necessarily a military title. In the Hoysāla and Vijayanagar empires that title was assumed by one who had certain important administrative functions to discharge, and it indicated a cadre to

22. Elliot, *History of India*, IV, p. 108.
23. *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, p. 369.

which a particular person belonged. The title was applied also to a military commander, but not all *Daṇḍanāyakas* were officers of the army, or those who had seen service as generals. From such similarity of titles it is not right to conclude that "the rulers of Vijayanagara had acted contrary to the classical notions of *daṇḍa*."

That it was the *Pradhāni* who was generally the chief judge is indicated by the following evidence. Abdur Razāk who describes the judge holding his court speaks of him also as the minister of the king. He says : "When the *Danāik* leaves the chamber several coloured umbrellas are borne before him........Before he reaches the king he has to pass through seven gates...........He reports upon the affairs of the state to the king and after remaining some time returns."[24] Unless the judge had certain ministerial functions, he would not have gone to the king "to report upon the affairs of the state." Sāḷuva Timma, the Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, took the title *Dharmapratipālakaḥ*[25] which would indicate that he had certain judicial functions, and was perhaps the chief judge at the capital. The judicial organisation at the Madura court as described in a Jesuit letter substantiates our position, for in the Vijayanagar days it was the imperial system that was generally followed both in the provinces and in the *Nāyaka's* territories. Proenza in his letter of A.D. 1665 writes : "The Pradhāni did not consider the rival plaints........The examination was public........He sent for the governor, judges and all the great personages to come to the palace immediately. He came in great pomp......The governor intimidates the witnesses and compels them to depose according to his wishes........All the procedure was sent to Madura from where the judgment came soon".[26] This letter shows clearly that the *Pradhāni* had control over the judicial department. In another instance the Madura Nāyaka Vīrappa and his *Pradhāni* Ariyanātha Mudaliyār constituted a panel to decide a certain case.[27] From the above illustrations, two from the capital and two from Madura, we may assume that it was generally the *Pradhāni* who was the chief judge.

However, though the Persian ambassador affirms that there was only one judge at the capital, it is difficult to believe his state-

24. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 108
25. *E.C.*, IX, Ma. 11.
26. Bertrand, *La Mission Du Maduré*, III, pp. 178-81, quoted by R. Satyanatha Ayyar in his *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 242.
27. 582 of 1926, *Rep.*, 1927, para 92.

ment completely. Speaking about the villages under the Madura Nāyaks, John Nieuhoff says that each village had two judges, who were much respected by the inhabitants.[28] If according to him each village had two judges, it is difficult to believe that there could have been only one judge at the capital of the vast empire of Vijayanagar.

But the existence of a separate court presided over by a judge or a panel of judges did not preclude the king from dispensing justice himself. The king also received complaints from his people and disposed of them. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's views on the duties of the king with regard to the administration of justice are contained in his statement in the *Āmuktamālyada* where he says: "Be always intent upon protecting your subjects; when you hear complaints from people in distress, hear them and redress their sufferings. Do not entrust your affairs to mean persons."[29] That emperor personally dispensed justice in a few cases. When he received complaints about certain irregularities of management in respect of daily worship in the Tiruvālūr temple, he ordered the dismissal of the culpable servants of the temple.[30] Sometimes the king asked the officers by his side to try the cases presented to him. Once when the *Mahājanas* made representations with regard to a dispute between two parties of residents of Koṇḍagai in the Rāmnād district to king Sadāśiva Rāya while he was camping at Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in A.D. 1545-46, the king directed the matter to be settled by the arbitration of learned men in the presence of Sāḷuva Nāyaka as a result of which remissions of certain taxes were granted to the village of Tiruveṅgaḍapuram.[31] But in particular cases it appears the king could not be appealed to directly. An appeal to him could be made only through some officer. Thus it is stated in an inscription that the trustees in charge of the temple treasury of Tiruvāmāttūr petitioned to Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya through Karaṇikkam Maṅgaraśayyar and Sāḷuva Ariyava Nāyakkar.[32] It is difficult to know exactly what the two officers did in the appeal. Perhaps as provincial governors they recommended the case for final appeal to the king; or it was simply an appeal from the provincial court to the imperial court.

28. Satyanatha Ayyar, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
29. Canto IV, v. 205.
30. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 155.
31. 2 of 1923; see also Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
32. 13 of 1922.

Commenting on the system under which the king acted as the judge Saletore expresses the view that there must have been some confusion in the judicial organisation at Vijayanagar. He says: "According to the Persian ambassador it is the *daṇṇāyaka* who constituted the highest judicial official in the kingdom; in the opinion of Nuniz the king gave a sort of rough-and-ready dispensation of justice, independent of the *daṇṇāyaka*. Nothing but confusion would have resulted if this were really the case in Vijayanagara".[33] But this criticism is groundless, for it is not correct to assume that both the king and the judge would have had concurrent jurisdiction. The judge would have tried a particular set of cases, while the king would have tried another set of cases. At times the king in Council would have acted as a court of appeal, and at others as a court with original jurisdiction in certain cases. Further it is reasonable to assume that the king would have tried criminal cases and cases in which certain special interests like those of a temple or a high dignitary were involved, while the judge tried the other civil cases.

Nuniz condemns the laws that obtained in the Vijayanagar empire. He says: "No law is possible in the country where these pagodas are, save only the law of the Brahmans, which is that of the priests."[34] But such a downright condemnation is quite unfair. Very often the kings had to consult the Brahmans who were the only men who had a correct knowledge of the law of the land. Small criminal cases might have been decided by the kings themselves "without much ado" on the spot. But in cases of a complicated nature they could not but have consulted the Brahmans. This however should not lead us to conclude that law was that of the Brahmans or was that of the priests, for there was nothing wrong in the kings' seeking the advice of the sacerdotal class which had a sound knowledge of law. Surely the remarks of Nuniz are unwarranted.

Constituted on the same lines as the court of law at the capital where the kings dispensed justice personally, there were inferior courts of various grades in the empire, where justice was administered. The provincial courts were presided over by the king's agents or governors, who in the name and on behalf of

33. *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 370-71.
34. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-05.

the king decided cases that appeared before them. For instance according to a record from Āragaḷūr in the Salem District, one Tirumalai Nāyaka, who was the governor of the province in which the village was situated, made a decision regarding the right of worship in the temple of Tirukkāmīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār.[35] Likewise when a dispute arose between the Agrahārikas and the Karṇams of the village of Avuḍūru in respect of the distribution of certain service *inām* lands, one Anuguṇḍa Veṅgaḷappa, most probably an officer of the imperial government, settled the question by redistributing the lands under dispute among the two parties, after classifying the lands into good, bad and medium.[36]

In the outlying parts of the empire, besides these regular courts of justice there were certain popular courts which were empowered to dispense justice in the cases that arose within their jurisdiction. For instance the village assemblies, the temple trustees and the caste elders had courts of their own. The differences in the local customs of the people which only the local people could understand seem to have necessitated the existence of such courts. It is only the local courts that can decide cases of a local character with a good knowledge of the customs of the litigants and the circumstances under which the cause of action for a suit could have arisen. Thus it is that in the Vijayanagar period there were village courts, presided over by the village *Mahājanas*, caste courts presided over by the caste elders, courts presided over by the temple trustees and courts of the guilds presided over by their leading men. These courts had all the judicial and magisterial authority of the judge of a regular court.

A record at Āvaḍaiyārkōyil in the Tanjore district shows how the village assemblies discharged their judicial functions. According to it the assembly of that village made a gift of two pieces of land as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* to the temple of Śōla Pāṇḍya Vinnagar Emberumāṉār at Tirupperundurai, which had been confiscated by them from a certain Āṇḍāṉ Piḷḷai of Tirupputtūr on account of some default or wrong on his part.[37] When the village assemblies decayed, the *āyagārs* as a body took their place and discharged their functions, and thus enjoyed some judicial powers. Thus when a dispute arose between one Annadāna Gauḍa and Ciga Mudhaiya regarding the role of *gauḍika* in a particular village in the

35. 413 of 1913 ; *Rep.*, 1914. para 26.
36. *M.E.R.*, Cp. 11 of 1912-13.
37. 509 of 1925.

Anantapur district, the case was presented before the *Dharmāsana* (village court), consisting of the chief men of the village and the twelve village servants (*āyagār*). They decided in favour of Ciga Mudhaiya. Their decision was accepted by Sarājayapa-rāja, the chief of Harati, and the *gauḍika* was conferred on Mudhaiya. The procedure adopted in this case shows that though the village officers were allowed to decide cases, it was the superior officer of the locality that had to give effect to the decision.[38] An undated inscription at Koṭṭaiyūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State gives some details about the settlement of a dispute among certain castes. The epigraph is defaced, but we can learn from it that it records the settlement of a dispute between certain sects of the potters of Koṭṭaiyūr in Kāṉaṉāḍu *alias* Virudarājabhayaṅkara Vaḷanāḍu; the settlement was arrived at in an assembly which in addition to the blood relations of the disputants contained the residents of the district, the (temple) trustees, and the artisans of the place. It was a representative gathering.[39] That the temple authorities dispensed justice at times is indicated by an inscription at Neyvāśal also in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. It records that they sat in judgment over a case in which a temple jewel had been stolen away by a particular person, and punishment was imposed upon him. The temple authorities also ratified the sale of the lands of the culprit for paying off the price of the stolen jewel.[40]

In those days special officers were appointed to supervise the working of the temples, and whenever disputes arose in them these special officers enquired into such cases and decided them. One Viṭṭappar of Ānegōṇḍi, when he was appointed as the king's officer in the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple, had to decide a serious dispute in that temple. As soon as he took charge of his office " he found that the *Paḍiyilār*, the *Iṣabhattaḷiyilār* and the *Dēvaraḍiyār* had struck work in that temple and that two previous attempts at reconciling their differences made in the 5th year of Rājanārāyaṇaṉ Śambuvarāyaṉ by the *Mudaliyār* of Perumbaṟṟapuliyūr (Cidambaram), and subsequently by the trustees, had proved abortive. Viṭṭappar now enquired of the Vīraśōḷa aṇukkar and the Kaikkōḷar for the cause of this strike, and having called together a meeting of the *Śrīrudras*, *Śrīmāheśvaras*, the *Iṣbhattaḷiyilār* and the *Dēvaraḍiyār* in the *Vyākaraṇadānamaṇṭapa* of the

38. *M.E.R.*, C.P. 19 of 1916-1917.
39. *I.P.S.*, 915.
40. *Ibid.*, 867.

Tiruvorriyūr temple, settled the order to be followed by them in the matter of temple service. It, however, appears that the question was not finally settled; for three years later (in Ś. 1293) under orders of Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, these had to meet again in the very same *maṇṭapa* presided over this time by the officer Tuṇaiyirunda nambi Koṅgarāyar. More representatives than on the previous occasion had gathered including the trustees and the district representatives (*nāṭṭārs*), and the question was decided not only as between the *Īṣabattaḷiyilār* and the *Dēvaraḍiyār*, but concerned also indirectly the *Śokkattaḷiyilār, Muṭṭukkārar, Vīraṇukkar* (Vīraśōḷa aṇukkar mentioned already) and the *Kaikkōḷar*, all of whom must have been servants of the Tiruvorriyūr temple in one capacity or another. The points settled were many, and involved several details which it is unnecessary to repeat. In effect the *Iṣabhattaḷiyilār* were required to serve in the shrine of the God and the *Devaraḍiyār* in that of the Goddess on festive occasions celebrated within the temple, and when the Gods were carried in procession outside the temple through the streets, into *maṇṭapas*, into gardens, tanks and other sanctified spots, and when minor deities including the image of the sage Tiruvādavūr Nāyaṉār (Māṇikkavāśagar) on the occasion of his hearing the *Tiruvembāvai,* was paraded, the procedure was to be somewhat different".[41] This interesting epigraph clearly shows that the special officers appointed by the kings to supervise temples had also judicial functions.

Questions affecting the social and religious practices of the people were decided by special officers called *samayācāras* or *dāśaris* who were appointed by the government as the censors of morals. The office was farmed out on contract in all the large towns, and credited to public accounts as *samayācāra.* No religious ceremony or marriage could be undertaken without the permission of these *samayācāras*. When a dispute arose between the Reḍḍis of Penugoṇḍa and Bodipet as regards inter-marriages among them, and when the matter was represented to Rāma Rāyal and Bukka Rāyal, they held an enquiry into the matter and sent for their *guru* Tātācārya to decide the question. Tātācārya went into the details of the case and invested the heads of Sujanakula with certain honours for which they promised to make certain specified payments on occasions of marriage. Then marriages were accordingly performed.[42] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya authorised one Veṅkaṭa

41. 196 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 51.
42. *E.C.*, XII, Pg. 82.

Tātāyarāja of the Śatamarṣaṇa *gotra* to make enquiries into the conduct of all the castes owing allegiance to Rāmānuja and to punish delinquents in regard to religious and social matters.[43] Thus in the Vijayanagar days the religious teachers also decided certain cases which were of a social and religious character.

Lastly mention must be made of the *Nāyakas* of the Vijayanagar days who were semi-independent rulers in their own territories. They enjoyed complete powers of police and judicial administration. They held their own courts and decided cases that came before them.

Section III

Judicial Procedure

(a) *Civil Cases*: About the exact judicial procedure we are not able to get much information. The little that is available indicates that civil cases were generally decided by the popular courts more by arbitration than by a detailed and dispassionate examination of all the legal points involved in a case. Even such difficult and complicated cases like the right of succession to a property were decided by the local magnates by means of arbitration. For instance a copper-plate record dated A.D. 1533 from Madura registers the settlement of a dispute between two brothers as to who among them was the elder. The younger Śiṉṉa Vaḍāvāḍa Tummiśi Nāyakkar having been declared in an assembly consisting of eighteen Koḍaṅgai Nāyakkars and Polygars to be the junior, the elder Rāma Rāya Tummuśi Nāyakkar granted him some lands.[44] Then again when in A.D. 1363 the people of Heddūrnāḍ and the temple *ācāryas* had certain disputes with the *śūris* as to the boundaries of the lands belonging to the Pārśvadēva temple of Taḍatāḷa in Heddūrnāḍ, the great minister Nāgaṇṇa, a few *araśus* and the Jaina Mallappa decided them by arbitration. They summoned the elders of the three cities and the eighteen *Kampaṇas*, and held an enquiry in the Āraga Cāvaḍi. They made the nāḍ agree that the lands belonged to the temple, fixed the boundaries according to former custom, and gave a *śāsana* to that effect.[45] According to an inscription in the Sira taluk in the Tumkūr district, it was ruled by the king as follows: " If a caste dispute

43. *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 110.
44. Burgess, *S.C.P.*, No. 20, pp. 107-08.
45. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 197.

arises in the country they will summon the parties before them and advise them. And as they have the power of punishment, the parties must act according to the advice given. This proceeding to be free of cost to them."[46]

But when the regular courts or the king tried the cases, they went into their merits, examined the documents, tried witnesses, and finally gave their decisions. A valuable record at Śrīvilliputtūr in the Rāmnāḍ district dated A.D. 1577 states that when a dispute arose with regard to the boundaries of the lands belonging to the temples of the Goddess Śūḍikoḍutta Nācciyār and the God Paḍikkāśuvaitta Nāyaṉār, it was decided by a committee consisting of Virappa Nāyakkar, Ariyanātha Mudaliyār and a few others. " Before the day appointed for settlement, orders to assemble were issued to the parties to the suit. They brought their accounts and *jñāpakam* (memos ?). The allegations of both the parties were enquired into, the lands were inspected and final orders were then passed that Iraṭṭai Kariśalkuḷam should belong to the Nācciyār temple and that the tank Mālaiyiḍāṉ should be added to the Aḍiyārkuḷam as belonging to the Śiva temple. Boundary stones were fixed at the proper places to mark off the holdings of the Nācciyār temple."[47]

In this connection an inscription from Tiruviḍaimarudūr is of special interest to us. According to it, two villages, Āvaṇam and Śiṟṟāḍi, were originally granted to the temple at the place as a Marudappar *tirunāmattukkāṇi,* but were subsequently taken possession of by the government, and they became a *paṇḍāravāḍai.* When Rāma Rāja Viṭṭaladēva Mahārāja was in Tiruvaḍi (Travancore), Tiruccirrambala Bhaṭṭar and Maṅgamarkāttār, two of the temple servants, made petition to him many times about the villages being returned to the temple. Therefore he sent Tulināyaṉār and a *Muttirai vāngi ilingayar* (an examiner of the seals(?) analogous to the Revenue Inspectors of the modern day) to see if the boundary stones in the two villages contained the marks of Marudappar. He soon returned and deposed that they bore his marks. On their evidence Viṭṭaladēva decided that the villages belonged to the temple, and restored them to it.[48] This inscription clearly shows how the royal officers enquired into cases to ascertain the truth.

46. *E.C.*, XII, Si. 79.
47. 582 of 1926; *Rep.*, 1927, para 92.
48. 140 of 1895; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 704.

The value of documentary evidence was highly appreciated. The kings or chiefs did not fail to examine all relevant documents in connection with any suit that appeared before them. When for instance a case about a dispute between the Paḷḷars and the Paraiyars of the villages comprised within Kāṉanāḍu and Amantūr *Paḍaipaṟṟu* in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State came up before Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍamāṉār, the local ruler, he went through the inscriptions bearing on the suit found in the temples of Tekkattūr, Virāccilai and Lambalakkuḍi, and gave his decision.[49]

Similarly when a quarrel between the Baḍugulavāru and the Palināṭivāru about the *birudas* to be carried during festival procession came up for decision before the Vaiṣṇavas, Voḍeyas, elders and the merchants of Kāñcī in A.D. 1576 " they granted on the authority of a previous document on stone a very long list of privileges including that of *Kuṅkuma vastram* to the Baḍugulavāru."[50] The same procedure was adopted by Mahānāyakācārya Haraṭi Immaḍi Raṅgappa Nāyaka Ayya's (son) Huṅgahati Nāyaka's family, relatives, and others in the grant of a *gauḍa-ship* to a particular individual. By a copper-plate *śāsana* Vīra Ballāḷa Rāya had granted the *nād gauḍika* to a certain person. But one Muḍi Gauḍa . . . of the two tanks said that the *nād gauḍika* was his, and sent a few of his men to Tumkūr, where they prepared a false document (*vōle*), and produced it before Huṅgahati Nāyaka and others, to show that the *gauḍika* belonged to him, and claimed that he had proved his case. But the Mahānāyakācārya sent his men from his palace to test the genuineness of the *vōle*, who however returned the verdict that it was a false *vōle*, and hence the *gauḍika* did not return to him. Therefore the authorities decided that there should be no joint *gauḍika* or substitute, and in the presence of the chief priest of the God Melikuṇṭe Bālakṛṣṇa's temple, set up a stone *śāsana*.[51]

The manner in which a temple dispute was decided by one Tirumaḷḷi Nāyaka deserves special mention here. The dispute under question was with regard to the right of worship in the temple of Tirukkāmīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Āragaḷūr in the Salem district. A complaint was made by the managers of the temple before Tirumaḷḷi Nāyaka who in summing up and communicating his final orders to the managers (*sthānikas*) of that temple

49. *I.P.S.*, 976.
50. *M.E.R.*, 1912-13, Cp. 13; Pt. I, para 11.
51. *E.C.*, XII, Si. 84.

said: " (1) A has been enjoying for a long time the privilege of worshipping all the 30 days of the month in the temple, while actually only 15 days belong to him by right and 15 days belong to another person named B. (2) The privilege of B thus enjoyed by A without proper authority, requires settlement; (3) in support of the latter part of the statement made in (1) there are records in the temple to prove that the 15 days of B (now abandoned by him and enjoyed by A) have, under orders, been counted 'unclaimed' (*iṟaṅgal*) ; (4) of this privilege of 15 days so declared unclaimed, you have sold (on your own responsibility) 7½ days to a third person C, and given him a sale deed; (5) by so doing you have deprived the acquired right of A enjoyed by him for the last eight or ten generations; (6) at this stage the *nāṭṭār* appear to have volunteered to settle the question of enjoyment—A being found issueless (?)—and to have called the parties to present themselves before them together with A; (7) you—the managers—were also required (under my orders) to be present on the occasion, to hear the case, and to carry out the decision arrived at (by the *nāṭṭār*) and to have in the meantime, during the period of hearing (by the *nāṭṭār*), the worship of the temple performed by outsiders on payment; (8) A having then appealed to me while I happened to be present at Āragaḷūr to hear his case personally and give a just decision, I and the *nāṭṭār* together advised the parties to put their case before the *Mahājanas* and issued an order to this effect; (9) in obedience to our order the *Mahājanas* of the agrahāras of Kuḷattūr, Ālambaḷam, Śaḍaiyanpaṭṭu and Muṭṭiyākuricci heard both sides, and decided that although A may have been the hereditary holder of only 15 days of the privilege it was not fair to sell part of the disputed portion thereof to an outsider like C, while the right to purchase (in virtue of long enjoyment) primarily rested in A; (10) according therefore to this decision of the *Mahājanas*, we order that A must continue to enjoy the full 30 days as before, and that the sale deed you have given to C should be cancelled."[52]

From the judicial procedure adopted in deciding the case of the aggrieved priest in the above suit, the following conclusions may be drawn. An aggrieved party had the right of petition to the governor or king. When the governor or king by himself could not decide the case, he sought the aid of the *nāṭṭar*. But even when this influential body of people could not decide the case, perhaps owing to the fact that it was too important a question and involved serious points of law, the *Mahājanas* of the surrounding villages

52. 430 of 1913: *Rep.*, 1914, para 26.

were asked to decide the question, which they did by giving the award that the temple trustees had no power to sell the right of worship which originally belonged to B, and having been abandoned by him had gone to A and was with him for eight or ten generations, who had thus acquired a prescriptive right to the conduct of worship. This also shows that appeals could be made from the popular courts to regular courts of justice which belonged to the king.

Though great value was attached to human evidence, sometimes divine help was sought in deciding certain cases which involved great legal and technical difficulties and hence could not be decided easily, or when there was not sufficient evidence to prove or disprove a case, or where a party demanded that the court should not content itself with an examination of the human evidence alone. In such cases trials by ordeal were resorted to. If the party who underwent the ordeal was not seriously injured, or recovered from the injury within a particular period, he was considered to have won his case; if it happened the other way, he was said to have lost his case. An undated record found at Mēlattāṉiyam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State records the settlement of a dispute between the Paraiyars and the Paḷḷars of the village about the enjoyment of certain privileges exclusively by them. It is said that one Vīra Śiṉṉu Nāyakkar decided the dispute by asking the parties to dip their hands in boiling ghee and that the Paḷḷars came out unscathed.[53] An epigraph in the Yēlandūr Jāgir in the Mysore State records a dispute among certain castes that was decided in a similar way. The inscription which records this states that in the time of Rāma Rāja Nāyaka the headman of the potters granted a charter to the following effect: "When the barbers and washermen said that for potters paring of toes and nails and tying on the upper cloth (probably on marriage occasions) are not allowed, the chiefs of the potters said that they were, and gained victory by the ordeal of dipping their hands in boiling ghee before the God Divyaliṅgēśvara in Haradanahaḷḷi."[54] An inscription of A.D. 1664 found at Abbinahole in the Hiriyūr taluk records that the *śenabovas* of Dummaḷalu, Kambaya's son Muduraṅga and four others, (named) with the consent of their wives, sons, agnates, heirs and the *sāvantas* of four villages, granted to the *śenabovas* of Guḍa-Abbinahoḷesthala, namely Gauraṇṇa's son Sadāśivayya and others (four named), a *jayarēkhapatrikā* (certificate of victory) as

53. *I.P.S.*, 929.
54. *E.C.*, IV, Yl., 2.

follows : " When we represented to the assembly consisting of the *gauḍas, śēnabōvas, seṭṭis* and *paṭṭaṇasvāmis* of Agali, Muduvidu, Raṇta vaḷulu and other surrounding villages that the *kāṇāci* pertaining to the office of *shanbog* of Guḍasthala belonged to us, judgment was pronounced in your favour. Declining to abide by the decision of the assembly, we proposed to settle the dispute by the ordeal of dipping the hand in boiling ghee in the presence of the goddess Ellamma of Koḍihaḷḷi. Accordingly, by order of the chief, ghee was sent for by Sidapa Devaru of Haraṭi and others (named), boiled and placed before us, and when we put our hand into it saying that " the *kāṇāci* is ours " the hand was burnt and we lost our case while you won yours by escaping injury. We therefore give you this *jayarēkhā*. Justice being on your side, may you enjoy the office of *shanbog* for as long as the sun and moon last."[55]

Nicolo dei Conti has the following remarks to make about ordeals : " In criminal charges oaths are allowed, where there is no witness to prove the offence. There are three modes of swearing. In one, the person to whom the oath is administered stands before the idol, and swears by the idol that he is innocent. Having taken the oath, he then licks with his tongue a piece of iron, such as a mattock, red hot ; if he escape uninjured he is declared innocent. Others again, having first taken the oath, carry the same piece of iron, or a red hot plate for several paces before the idol ; if burnt in any part he is punished as guilty ; if he escape unhurt he is exempt from the punishment awarded for the offence. There is a third manner of swearing, and this is the most common of all. A vessel is placed before the idol filled with boiling butter. He who swears that he is innocent of the offence charged against him plunges two fingers into the butter, which are immediately wrapped up in linen and a seal impressed upon it, to prevent the covering being removed. On the third day the bandage is taken off. If any injury appear upon the fingers the accused is punished, if no injury present itself he is released."[56]

Ordeals continued in South India till so late as the beginning of the nineteenth century when for example a dispute between two individuals as to the *talayāri* right in a particular village was decided by resorting to one of the ordeals in the days of the Mahrātta king Sarfoji of Tanjore.[57]

55. *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 116.
56. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 31-32.
57. *M.E.R.*, 1924, para 64.

Another point that deserves examination here is the trial of certain cases by a body of persons at the request of particular officers within whose jurisdiction a particular case might fall, and hence who alone had the right to try the case. Under the terms of reference the delegated body conducts the case, arrives at a decision, and submits it to the officer who has authorised it to try the case for the delivery of the judgment. Thus its powers are limited and it tries a case only as a delegated authority. The Āragaḷūr inscription above referred to is an instance in point. It was the *Mahājanas* that tried the case where the temple authorities had sold the acquired right of A to a certain C, and pronounced the verdict in the case. Tirumaḷḷi Nāyaka, the provincial ruler, to whom an appeal was preferred before the *Mahājanas* were asked by him to go into the case, only gave his judgment on the verdict of the *Mahājanas* empanelled by him. Thus these *Mahājanas* simply constituted a jury to find the facts of the case, but they were not the judges.[58]

(b) *Criminal Cases*: We also get some information about the manner in which criminal cases were tried both at the imperial court and in the mofussil centres. But the material at our disposal is not much, and hence we cannot definitely say much about the method by which criminal cases were tried. But the following details may be noted. Nuniz says: " When any one suffers wrong and wishes to represent his case to the king he shows how great is his suffering by lying flat on his face on the ground till they ask him what it is he wants. If, perchance, he wishes to speak to the king while he is riding, he takes the shaft of a spear and ties a branch to it and thus goes along calling out. Then they make room for him and he makes his complaint to the king, and it is there and then settled without much ado and the king orders a captain, one of those who go with him, to do at once what the supplicant asks . . . and even if some (robberies) are committed you give some little present and a description of the man who stole from you, and they will soon know by the agency of the wizards whether the thief be in the city or not; for there are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the land."[59]

Though the reference to the existence of wizards appears to be ridiculous at first sight it is not impossible that the kings might have

58. 430 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1914. para 26.
59. Sewell. *op, cit.,* pp. 380-81.

consulted a class of people who by their knowledge of magic professed to know the whereabouts of lost things and the persons who had stolen them. When even to-day we see a few men, who, with the help of some magic power, are able to trace lost things, it is not difficult to believe Nuniz. In dealing with political offences, real or suspected, the king at times combined in himself the duties of the complainant, the policeman and the magistrate. It was so when Kṛṣṇa Rāya blinded and put in prison his trusted minister Sāḷuva Timma and his sons on the suspicion of their having murdered his young son Tirumala. If the decision of this grave crime (if it is a fact that Sāḷuva Timma had any share in it) had been left to an impartial tribunal with which the king should have had nothing to do, then perhaps the charge of murder would have had to be proved before they were committed to the prison ; and if it had not been proved, the king's desire to have the minister and his sons imprisoned could not have been achieved. Thus this system according to which the king was not only the accuser but also the judge and the executor of the laws does not throw any favourable light on the system of the administration of criminal justice, in the Vijayanagar empire.

The king was only one of the authorities that were in charge of the administration of criminal justice. The village assemblies, the temple authorities, and provincial governors also went elaborately into the criminal cases, examined the evidence and pronounced judgments.

Sometimes arbitration was resorted to even for deciding criminal cases. In the time of Vīra Sāyaṇa Uḍāiyār, a local dispute between two parties of Araiyars at Kōvilūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State was settled by arbitration. The parties in question were one Terkilaraiyaṉ and his kinsman on one side and the descendants of one Vaḍakkilaraiyaṉ on the other. " It is said that Vaḍakkilaraiyaṉ first killed a relative (probably the brother-in-law) of Terkilarayaṉ and in revenge he himself was killed by the latter. Sometime afterwards the kinsmen of Vaḍakkilaraiyaṉ invaded the territory of Terkilaraiyaṉ and killed some men belonging to the party of the latter. To make this loss good, Vaḍakkilaraiyaṉ's party subsequently handed over some of their men to the other side, and both parties entered into a covenant addressed to the trustees and *māṉarkaḷ* of the temple of Kuḷandai Nāyakkar agreeing to be friendly to each other. Terkilaraiyaṉ and his kinsmen agreed not to commit any offence in the villages of Mēlaikkōṭṭai, Perumpuliyūr, etc., inhabited by the relations of Vaḍakkilaraiyaṉ, while Vaḍakkilaraiyaṉ's kinsmen agreed not to commit

any offence in the district of Vaḷḷanāḍu inhabited by the relations of Terkilaraiyaṉ. They also declared that in case of any violation of the settlement, they, the parties, should sit as judges (*tānamumāga*) and confiscate to the temple as *devadāna* some of the lands of the offender, for which the offender himself was to pay the taxes to the king. Fines also would be levied payable to the assembly and the king".[60]

A valuable record at Tirukkaḻikunṟam in the Chingleput district discloses certain interesting details about the way in which the authorities of the temple decided a case of theft. According to the details contained in the inscription one Āindān had in the year Pramādi stolen away 150 *poṉ* from the garland of God Kuṉṟavāṇaperumāḷ. The *Meykāval* lodged a complaint before the temple trustees that the said Āindāṉ broke open the room in which the garland was placed, took some *poṉ*, and plastered the opening with mortar. The judges present at the time of the final hearing were the Śrī Rudra Māheśvaras of Tirukkāvaṇam, Śeṅgilaṅkiḻān, Tiruppilavāyiluḍaiyār Veṉṟābaraṇaṉ, Ādittadēvaṉ, Dhanavāṉ Amarāpatikāttār, Kāraikkiḻān Poṉṉambalakūttaṉ, the Kaikkōḷas and the Kaikkōḷamudalis. But during the time of the trial Āindāṉ had run away. Hence his properties consisting of four pieces of vacant land and the capitalised value of two kinds of rights of worship which he enjoyed in the temple were sold in public auction for eight hundred and fifty *poṉ*, and credited to the temple treasury.[61] This inscription clearly shows that local authorities like the temple trustees also were allowed to try criminal cases. They went into the cases in a very elaborate way and gave their considered judgment.

At certain places the local residents (*naṭṭār*) were allowed to decide criminal cases. An inscription at Neḍuṅguḍi in the Pudukkōṭṭai State records how a local dispute was decided by the *nāṭṭārs*. It states that the residents of Uñjaṉaippaṟṟu, Niyamappaṟṟu, Kaḷanivāśalpaṟṟu and Āḍalaiyūrnāḍu, met together to try three private individuals, who with the help of the army of one Maḷavarāyar caused disturbance in the country and killed twenty men in a fight, and punished the guilty men.[62]

A similar epigraph at Pūvālaikkuḍi, also in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, records that owing to a dispute between the residents of

60. *I.P.S.*, 683.
61. 185 of 1894: *S.I.I.*, V, No. 479.
62. *I.P.S.*, 818.

Poṉṉamarāpadi and those of Tūvar, the latter with sufficient help from outside wrought havoc in the village of Poṉṉamarāpadi. The former laid their grievances before the assembly of Pūvālaikkuḍi. The members who represented the residents of many surrounding villages promised help on condition of the afflicted party endowing some lands in their village to the temple.[63]

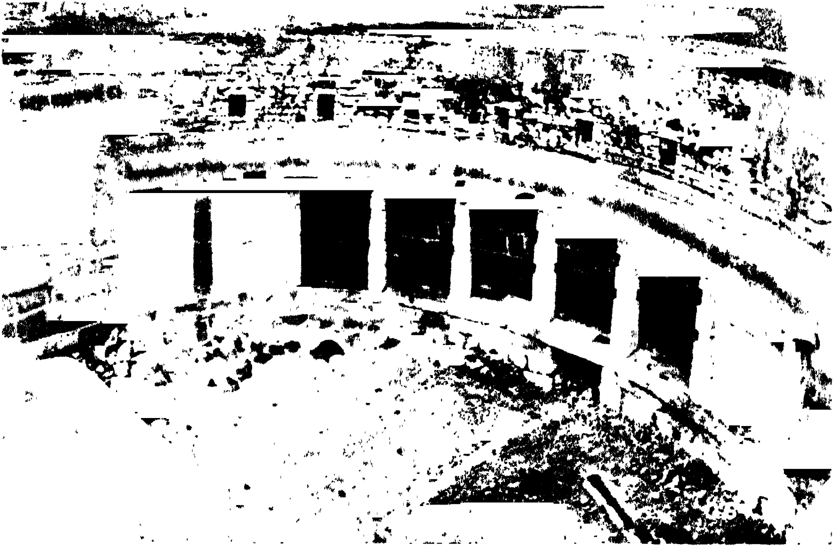
SECTION IV

Punishment

The normal code of punishment appears to have been severe under the Vijayanagar kings. Nuniz, while describing how criminal offences were punished, says: "For a thief whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if his theft be a great one he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who became traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and the same for a murder unless the death was the result of a duel........ These are the common kinds of punishment, but they have others more fanciful; for when the king so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the king that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it."[64]

This picture of Nuniz is corroborated by the evidence of Abdur Razāk and the inscriptions of the period. The Persian ambassador writes: "Sometimes they order the criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunks and tusks."[65] An inscription at Neyvāśal in Pudukkōṭṭai State dated A.D. 1616, for instance, records the theft of a temple jewel and also the punishment inflicted on the culprit. The culprit was imprisoned; one of his hands was ordered to be chopped off; his lands were confiscated; and at last he himself was driven away

63. *Ibid.*, 799.
64. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-84.
65. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 111.



Part of the Prison House, Jiñji Fort

from the village. The latter portion records that the temple authorities ratified a sale of land made by those who served in the same turn as the culprit, for paying off the price of the jewel stolen away and rewarding the informers.[66] Sometimes the criminals were tortured to death. One Tānādār Dilavar for instance, who used to kill the children of the farmers and others in the Dummi Śīme, was tortured to death. In such cases the loss of the aggrieved party was sought to be compensated by the State. Gauḍayya was one of those killed by the said Tānādār Dilavar. Hence his children were given Cikka Gaṅgūr as a *nettara gōḍage*.[67] In this connection Havart's representation in which the Golkonda ministers Akkaṇṇa and Madaṇṇa are tortured to death is of great interest.[68]

But such corroboration of the description of Nuniz should not leave on us the general impression that criminal law was then uniformly very severe, and that even a small theft by any person was always punished by mutilation. We must also note that the law of the land allowed differential treatment among the citizens. All men were not equal in the eyes of law. Hence it is we find that according to the account of Nuniz himself the regicides Sāḷuva Timma and his sons, because they were Brahmans, were not executed for their grave crime, but were simply imprisoned and blinded. But in cases where the criminals were ordered to be executed, Kṛṣṇa Rāya wanted to show some consideration. He says : " In the matter of people sentenced to death, give them the chance to appeal thrice (for mercy). But in the case of those people whose escape might bring on a calamity to yourself, immediate execution is advisable."[69] Thus treasonous persons whose existence would do great harm to the state and the king, must alone be executed without chance being given to them for appeal.

If Nuniz is to be believed, human sacrifices were not rare under the Vijayanagar kings. Regular prisons were maintained where the prisoners were lodged. Whenever there was felt any necessity for the sacrifice of human beings the prisoners 'who deserved death' were ordered to be executed. Thus Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, when he was told that the Gods demanded some human sacrifice for the successful termination of his big irrigation scheme, 'sent to bring hither all the men who were his prisoners, and who deserved death,

66. *I.P.S.*, 867.
67. *E.C.*, VII, Ci. 69.
68. See *M.E.R.*, 1915, plate IId, facing page 117.
69. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 243.

and ordered them there to be beheaded.'[70] This would indicate that Kṛṣṇa Rāya acted up to his principles as laid down in his *Āmuktamālyada* as far as practicable. Not till he was forced to the necessity of offering a human sacrifice for the successful termination of a big irrigation scheme did he think of executing even those who deserved death. He was satisfied with their imprisonment. The infliction of capital punishment on criminals is also mentioned by Abdur Razāk. Speaking about the conspirators who plotted to murder Dēva Rāya II, he says: "They were either flayed alive, or burnt to death, or destroyed in some other fashion, and their families were altogether exterminated. The person who had brought the invitation was also put to death."[71] A Jesuit letter of A.D. 1601 shows how certain offences were punishable with imprisonment, irrespective of the status or dignity of the offender. Guerreiro says: "The case was striking in this that it should happen to the chief Governor of the Empire, who so earnestly opposed the grant ordered by the King from the revenue of those villages for the ministers of the Church. It was just he who was accused before the King of having robbed the royal rents and treasure; he was disgracefully deprived of his functions and dignity. And when asked by the King for one of his rings that had cost 50,000 *pagodas*, he denied the charge and swore on his parents, he had never taken the ring. By many witnesses he was declared guilty of the theft of the ring and of three hundred thousand *pagodas*; so he is now imprisoned."[72]

It was not, however, unusual that even such grave crimes as murder went only lightly punished. According to an inscription at Basrūr in the South Canara district dated A.D. 1444-45, the Nakharadavāru (merchants) of Dharmapaṭṇa atoned for their murder of two men of the Śeṭṭi community by making a gift of money at one *honnu* (gold) in every ten realised by them. This they did as a *prāyaścitta* at the instance of several *śeṭṭikāras* of Paḍavakēri while Timmaṇa Oḍeya was governing the Bārakūru rājya.[73] In 1480 the residents of a few villages decided that the three individuals, who with the help of one Maḻavarāyaṉ caused disturbance and killed twenty men, should each endow one *mā* of

70. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
71. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 116-17.
72. Quoted by Heras in his *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 469.
73. 404 of 1927-28.

land to the local temple as tax-free *devadāna*.[74] Certain offences were punished with excommunication and loss of caste. In such cases the property of the accused was also forfeited to the palace.[75]

A few offences were punishable by the levy of fines. A record at Palaṅkarai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State specifies certain rates of fines for certain offences. They were fixed at ten *paṇams*.[76] According to an inscription in the Koppa taluk in the Kaḍūr district, one Cikkaṇṇa Nāyaka was fined 30 *varāhas* for a crime of his.[77] A defaced inscription at Raṅgiyam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State records an agreement drawn among the residents of Rāśaśiṅgamaṅgalam teṉ paṟṟu of Poṉṉamarāpadināḍu regarding the punishment to be inflicted on the person who killed another in any assault. The rates were fixed at 5 *paṇams* payable to Bhūmīśvara Nāyaṉār if the victim was a male and 10 *paṇams* if a female.[78]

Injustice done to a particular individual by the state was compensated by it. In 1582 Keladi Rāma Rājayya for instance granted to Puṭṭanahaḷḷi Bhadri Gauḍa an *umbaḷi* as follows: "As we had your eyes put out (or taken away your threshing floor) we grant you 5 *khaṇḍugas* of land in the fields in front of Puṭṭanahaḷḷi."[79]

This description of the method of the administration of justice in the Vijayanagar days shows clearly that the kings were anxious that justice should be administered to the people. Whether it was the judge at the imperial court or the village assembly in the outlying parts of the empire, the cases that appeared before them were examined in all their aspects. It may be that the code of criminal procedure was harsh and rigorous in certain cases. But it was only the fear of such severe punishment that made the people law-abiding citizens. Duarte Barbosa who bears testimony to the sense of security in the Vijayanagar empire says: "Great equity and justice is observed to all not only by the rulers but by the people one to another."[80] Vijayanagar was not the only empire

74. *I.P.S.*, 818.
75. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 50.
76. *I.P.S.*, 784.
77. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 59.
78. *I.P.S.*, 913.
79. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 232.
80. *Barbosa*, I, p. 202.

in which the criminal code was harsh. Criminal law was severe in Europe even so late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the middle ages criminal law had necessarily to be severe.

SECTION V

Police Organisation

The organisation of an efficient police for the preservation of peace and order in the country is one of the duties of the state. Great attention was paid to the police organisation in the Vijayanagar empire.

In the Vijayanagar days the police force was of two kinds, one maintained by the state, and the other maintained by the people, in their respective spheres. While the first was responsible to the government, the second was answerable to the people. There was also a special police at the capital, the organisation of which was almost similar to that of the government police in the outlying parts of the empire. These policemen were responsible for the preservation of peace and order and the detection of crimes within their jurisdiction. Speaking about their functions Abdur Razāk says : "The business of these men was to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within the seven walls and to recover everything that is lost, or that may be abstracted by theft ; otherwise they are fined."[81] The Persian ambassador also notes how on one occasion they were punished for the theft that took place within their ward. He says thus: "Certain slaves which my companion had brought took to flight, and when the circumstances were brought to the Prefect, he ordered the watchmen of that quarter, where the poorest people dwelt, to produce them or pay the penalty; which last they did on ascertaining the amount."[82] The same system is described by Nuniz. He says that if any one complained to the king that he was robbed in such and such a province and in such and such a road, the king sent immediately for the captain of that province, even though he be at court, and the captain might be seized and his property taken if he did not catch the thief. He adds in the same way the Chief Bailiff was obliged to give an account of the robberies in the capital and in

81. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 112.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

consequence very few thefts took place.[83] The Bailiff and the Prefect were different names of the same officer whom we may call in the modern political phraseology the Police Commissioner, the *nāgarika* of Kauṭalya.[84] In the days of Dēva Rāya II he had his office opposite the mint at the capital. Under him there were 12,000 policemen who were each paid by the government 30 *paṇams* per month.[85]

But in the provinces of the empire where the *Nāyaṅkara* system was in vogue, the *Nāyakas* were made responsible for the preservation of peace in their respective areas. They by themselves did not attend to the police duties, but appointed persons for the work and they were known as the *kāvalgārs.* The origin of this system can be traced to the policy of setting a thief to catch a thief. These *kāvalgārs* belonged generally to the criminal tribes and they were required to prevent theft by their castemen and restore the property stolen within their locality, for which service they were paid by assignments of land for their maintenance. The *kāvalgārs* themselves appointed a *talaiyāri* for each village under them. These local policemen were liable to be punished if they did not discharge their duties properly. For instance an epigraph at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the Chingleput district mentions that some of *agambaḍaiyārs* (servants ?), 48 in number, serving under the chief of Paḍuvūr, lived in the village and protected it for a long time, but later since they neglected their duties for reasons unexplained and caused much loss to the people, they had to be punished.[86]

In certain places the *kāvalgārs* were responsible to the villagers themselves. The villagers generally sold the right of policing, *pāḍikāval* as it was called. According to a damaged record at Teṉṉaṅguḍi in the Kuḷattūr taluk of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, the residents of Aṇṇalvāśal in Vaḍakōnāḍu sold the *pāḍikāval* right in the village for 150 *śakkarapaṇams.*[87] Similarly when a few *kaḷḷavēlaikkārar* sought refuge in an assembly composed of certain specified groups of people in Jambukēśvaram and

83. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-81.
84. *Arthaśāstra,* Book II, ch. 36.
85. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 111.
86. 240 of 1912.
87. *I.P.S.*, 751 ; see for a similar sale of *pāḍikāval* rights by the residents of Mēlūr in the same State in 1465 owing to famine and failure of rain ; *ibid.*, 801.

Śrīraṅgam, they were assigned the duty of guarding their lands and lives from injury. In return for this they were permitted to collect from each family of the eighteen castes (*padineṇ bhūmi śamayattār*) one *paṇam* annually and one ring on each marriage occasion.[88]

The influential men in a locality granted the right to the *kāvalgārs*. Four landholders of Tirukkaḷakkuḍi in the Rāmnāḍ district granted to the watchmen of three villages the right of *kāval* which consisted of one bundle of hay and one *kuruṇi* of paddy on each *mā* of their holdings to each group of these watchmen separately and of all other customary services (*kāryakrama*) due from their tenants.[89] Sometimes the *kāval* rights were granted to certain people as a reward for certain services rendered. For instance according to an inscription in the same village a certain Sāḷuva Nāyaka and Appā Piḷḷai found a suburban village ruined, the tenants having dispersed and new tenants being unwilling to come and settle. There being none to come forward and resettle the village, they sent for Śakkadēvar Vēṭṭuvakkāṭṭaṉ *alias* Śāyapaḍaitāṅgi and his brother Śiṟukāṭṭavaṉ and also for the two agents of Tammaya Nāyaka and declared that as these had got tenants for the village and resettled it, the first two would be given the right of *pāḍikāval* over the particular village surrounding the temple (*tirumalai*) receiving the customary donations and fees, after allowing common rights and cultivating and paying the usual dues to the temple such as *kāṭṭumūkkai, mīśam, āśupōḍu, makkaḷpēru,* etc. They were also granted certain other rights and obligations.[90]

An incomplete record at Tiruveṅgaivāśal in the Kuḷattūr taluk of the Pudukkōṭṭai State records, for example, the grant of *pāḍikāval* rights by the temple trustees and the residents of Tiruveṅgaivāśal to the chief of Irumbaḷi for repairing the tank in their village.[91]

In some parts of the empire the chief *kāvalgār* was known as the *araśu kāvalgār*. The *araśu kāvalgārs* of Turaiyūr, Ariyalūr and Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam were the Poligars of those places.[92]

88. 368 of 1914.
89. 61 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916, para 83.
90. 48 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916, para 83.
91. *I.P.S.*, 680.
92. F. R. Hemingway, *The Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 255. For an account of the *Kāvalgār* System see *The Indian Police*, by J. C. Curry, pp. 247-48 and *The Land Pirates of India*, by W. J. Hatch, pp. 108-112.

Many of the Poligars of South India held their estates on *kāval* tenure. The Bellary District Gazetteer states that the *kāvalgārs* were remunerated in the following manner: "The Kāvalgārs were highly paid officials and granted payments as follows: (i) a village rent free or at a very low quit rent, (ii) a certain portion of rent free land in every village under their jurisdiction, (iii) an allowance in grain upon each plough or upon quantity of seed sown, (iv) an allowance in money paid by husbandmen on ploughs and by tradesmen on houses, shops and looms, (v) a small duty on goods passing through the country and (vi) a similar duty levied on fairs and weekly markets, on shroffs paid in money and other dealers (paid in kind)".[93]

As observed earlier the *kāvalgārs* appointed *talaiyāris* in each of the villages under them who in return for the services they rendered were paid both in kind and in cash, besides being granted land free of rent.

Thus it was largely the people themselves that made their own arrangements with regard to the police organisation. The government maintained only a part of the police force, which we can classify as the city and district organisations. Though the police arrangement in the Vijayanagar empire was well adapted to the times, and ensured security in the empire, yet the way in which the *kāvalgārs* were punished for alleged crimes within their jurisdiction was too severe. But since the *kāvalgārs* themselves were generally very influential among the criminal tribes and could not but have had some control over the tribesmen, the arrangement had generally a wholesome effect.

93. *Bellary District Gazetteer*, p. 187.

CHAPTER V

MILITARY ORGANISATION: WARFARE AND DIPLOMACY

Section I

Strength

In the middle ages a strong army was a necessary feature of a stable empire. And it was with the help of such a force that the small principality of Vijayanagar, founded on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā, successfully resisted the Muhammadan invasions from the north, and expanded into a vast empire.

Generally the Indian armies were large in size; and every foreign traveller who visited India was struck by their numbers. According to the accounts presented by Pliny and Plutarch, the army of Candragupta Maurya consisted of 9,000 elephants, 39,000 horses and 60,000 foot soldiers besides chariots.[1] In the Vijayanagar empire too the army was large in size. Ferishta says that Bukka I assembled an army consisting of 30,000 horses, 3,000 elephants and 100,000 foot when he advanced towards Ādōni in A.D. 1366.[2] Nicolo dei Conti who visited Vijayanagar in 1421 estimated the strength of the Hindu army at 90,000 men fit to bear arms.[3] Abdur Razāk, who visited the city twenty-one years later, records that the Vijayanagar army consisted of eleven lacs of men, (1,100,000) and more than 1,000 elephants, "lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons."[4] Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller who stayed at Kulburga between 1468 and 1474, describes the Vijayanagar army as consisting of 300 elephants, 100,000 infantry and 50,000 horse, while that of Sultan Muhammad of Kulburga consisted of 575 elephants, 900,000 foot and 190,000 horse.[5] According to the accounts of Varthema there were 40,000 horsemen in Vijayanagar.[6] Duarte Barbosa in giving an account of Vijayanagar says that the king kept at all times 900 elephants and more than

1. See V. R. R. Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, p. 190.
2. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 314.
3. Major, *India*, p. 6; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
4. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 105.
5. See Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
6. Jones, *Varthema*, p. 126; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

20,000 horses, and had more than 100,000 men both horse and foot to whom he gave pay.[7] The chronicle of Paes also contains some interesting information about the Vijayanagar army. Referring to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his forces, Paes says: "This king has continually a million fighting troops in which are included 35,000 cavalry in armour; all these are in his pay and he has these troops always together and ready to be despatched to any quarter whenever such may be necessary."[8] He says that the king once sent fifty captains with 150,000 soldiers amongst whom were many cavalry, and adds: "He (the king) has many elephants, and when the king wishes to show the strength of his power to any of his adversaries amongst the three kings bordering on his kingdom, they say that he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which he is the most feared king of any in these parts."[9] Nuniz estimates that the army which Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya led to the battle of Raicūr in 1519 consisted of 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse and 551 elephants, besides the camp followers, merchants, and others, and "an infinitude of people" who joined him at a place close to Raicūr.[10] The *Rāyavācakamu* states that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was followed in his campaigns against the Muhammadans by 120 *ghaṭṭams*[11] of elephants, 60,000 horse and 500,000 infantry in a body.[12] According to the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu*, the strength of Kṛṣṇa Rāya's army was 600,000 foot, 6,600 horse, and 2,000 elephants.[13] The army of Rāma Rāja was also large. According to Ferishta it consisted of 70,000 horse and 90,000 infantry[14] but if the anonymous chronicler is to be believed, it was even larger and was made up of 100,000 horse and 300,000 infantry.[15] Couto and Faria y Sousa agree with the above accounts as to the number of horses, but estimate that the foot soldiers alone were more than six hundred thousand.[16]

7. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 209-10.
8. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 147 and 326-27.
11. The term *ghaṭṭam* which is identical with Sanskrit *Ghaṭa* denotes a contingent of war elephants. According to the *Rāyavācakamu*, a *ghaṭṭam* consisted of ten elephants, so that there were in all 1,200 animals in Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's army.
12. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 113.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
14. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 247.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 414.
16. *Couto*, VIII, p. 89; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432; referred to by Heras in his *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 200-201.

But it is not quite clear whether these huge forces constituted the imperial standing army at Vijayanagar or whether they included also feudal levies. In the light of the figures of Duarte Barbosa who modestly estimates the strength of the trained armies of the Vijayanagar kings at 100,000, the cavalry alone being 20,000, it is reasonable to infer that the exaggerated figures of most of the foreign travellers do not indicate the normal strength of the forces which the kings generally maintained, but that of the forces that were assembled in times of war. For instance the huge army that marched to Raicūr was made up not only of the regular troops but also of the war levies furnished by the feudal vassals. According to Nuniz, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya had a permanent force of fifty thousand paid soldiers amongst whom were six thousand horsemen, who comprised the palace guard. He had also with him two hundred horsemen who were a part of the palace guard, their duties being to be always with the king and ride with him. There were also in the king's service twenty thousand spearmen and shield bearers besides three thousand men to look after the elephants in the stables.[17] The figures of Duarte Barbosa and Nuniz show that the standing army was a fraction of the large army called to the field of battle. The Vijayanagar rulers depended on the irregulars who formed a very large portion of the army.[18]

SECTION II

Recruitment

The Vijayanagar sovereigns adopted two different methods in the matter of recruitment to the army. The first was the direct one according to which the soldiers for the army were recruited directly by the kings and were maintained by them at their own expense; while the second was the indirect method according to which military contingents were required to be supplied to the imperial sovereign by the feudal vassals. While the former constituted the regular standing army of the state, the latter remained largely an irregular force supplied by the feudatories at short notice.

Recruitment for the standing army of the kings was made with great care. Duarte Barbosa, while describing how men were chosen for the army, says: " The officials of war in choosing a man for the

17. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

18. See C. H. Payne, *Scenes and Characters from Indian History*, pp. 56 and 57 and *fn.*

army strip him naked, and look at him to find out how tall he is, what is his name, in what land he was born, the names of his father and mother, and in this way he is appointed without leave being given him to go to his country and if he goes without leave and afterwards is captured, he is very evilly entreated."[19] But though recruitment for the army was made with great care, and discipline maintained with great rigour, yet the soldiers were allowed to live "according to their own law".[20] Nuniz, when describing the army of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya which marched to Raicūr, says that "all (the soldiers) were equally well armed, each after his own fashion."[21] The system of allowing the soldiers to live "according to their own law" and equip themselves "each after his own fashion" had certain advantages which counter-balanced the disadvantages. It must be admitted however that the existence of diverse groups and classes of soldiers in the imperial armies each following its own custom was not conducive to the enforcement of a uniform discipline among them. But it gave room for the display of patriotism of groups and communities or tribes. Under that system the soldiers preserved intact their own tribal characteristics which gave them greater scope for the display of their valour in war. Such diversity in the laws and regulations governing the army organisation was surely conducive to the efficiency of the men at arms. It may be noted that such a classification of the forces on the basis of the tribes or clans to which the soldiers belong is in vogue even at the present day in the regiments of the British Indian armies. Barbosa suggests, though he does not definitely say so, that it was only with very great difficulty that leave was granted to the soldiers. But such a policy could not have done much good to the imperial cause, for in such a case there could not have been much enthusiasm and love for war in them.

As has been said the feudal levies constituted a large portion of the Vijayanagar army. The empire was divided into a large number of districts each of which was granted to a chief in return for a fixed annual financial contribution and the supply of a specified quota of the military to the imperial house. Speaking of the feudal contingents in the Vijayanagar forces, Nuniz says: "The kings of this country are able to assemble as many soldiers as they want, as they have them there in their kingdom and have made wealth wherewith to pay them.

19. *Barbosa*, I, p. 212.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
21. Sewell. *op. cit.*, p. 327.

This king Chita Rao has foot soldiers paid by his nobles, and they are obliged to maintain six lakhs of soldiers, that is six hundred thousand men, and twenty-four thousand horse which the same nobles are obliged to have." [22] Many of the nobles also held some office or other under the crown. Nuniz gives a list of a few nobles who held office under Acyuta Rāya, and the military contribution they were liable to :

Name	*Infantry*	*Cavalry*	*Elephants*
Salvanayque	30,000	3,000	30
Ajaparcatimapa	25,000	1,500	40
Gapanayque	20,000	2,500	20
Lepapayque	20,000	1,200	28
Narvara (the treasurer of the jewels)	12,000	600	20
Chinapanayque	10,000	800	nil
Crisnapanayque	700	500	nil
Bajapanayque	10,000	800	15
Mallapanayque	6,000	400	nil
Adapanayque	8,000	800	30
Bajapanayque	10,000	1,000	50[23]

It is the same authority that gives us an idea of the strength of the contingents of a few nobles who followed Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the battle of Raicūr :

Name	*Infantry*	*Cavalry*	*Elephants*
The chief of the guard	30,000	1,000	6
Trimbicara	50,000	2,000	20
Timapanayque	60,000	3,500	30
Adapanayque	100,000	5,000	50
Condamara	120,000	6,000	60
Comara	80,000	2,500	40
Ogemdraho (the governor of the city of Bisnaga)	30,000	1,000	10
Three eunuchs	40,000	1,000	15
The betel page	15,000	200	nil
Comarberca	8,000	400	20[24]

22. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 373.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 384-89.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

It was the king who settled the forces that these chiefs were to keep for the imperial house. But it would appear that the number of each of these was subject to revision by the king as occasions demanded. For instance, though Adapanayque was normally expected to maintain only 8,000 soldiers, 800 horses and 30 elephants, he led to Raicūr a force consisting of 100,000 foot soldiers, 5,000 horses and 50 elephants, which seems to show that the strength of the contingents to be supplied by the feudatories was sometimes increased on occasions of war. It must be admitted, however, that these officers seldom maintained the required quota of the military. Nuniz affirms that Salvanayque acquired much wealth because he never maintained the whole force.[25] The kings had, however, the right to take away the property of these nobles.[26] They seem to have at times acted despotically in dealing with their nobles with regard to their military obligations. Adapanayque, for instance, was forced to bring to the battlefield a force which was many times larger than what he was normally expected to supply, and this must have made him enlist for his contingents men and animals that could not have seen a battle. In that case the existence of such irregulars in the Vijayanagar armies must have made them weak in spite of their large size. Here the remarks of Irvine are apposite. Writing on Indian armies in general, he says: "Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and the English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot soldier was little more than a night watchman, and guardian over baggage either in camp or on the line of march."[27] Though evidently this may be an exaggerated picture of the weakness of the Hindu military camp, it can well hold good of the irregulars in the Hindu armies.

From the above list, it may be doubted that, in fixing the strength of the forces each noble was required to supply to the imperial house, there was no definite proportion or principle followed, and that the proportion in which one lord was required to supply his contingent of foot soldiers, horses and elephants, had no bearing on the proportion of the forces supplied by another. Condamara, for instance, supplied 120,000 foot soldiers, 6,000 horse and 60 elephants, while the chief of the guard led a force of 30,000 infantry, 1,000 horses and six elephants. But the evidence at our disposal does not admit of an easy solution for this

25. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Army of the Mughals*, p. 57.

question. It is not, however, likely that the Vijayanagar kings would have acted as despots with regard to the fixing of the strength of the contingents from the feudal vassals, for though at times of war each of them might have been required to supply a larger quota of the military, yet during the normal periods of peace and quiet in the empire, it is reasonable to suppose that some principle was followed, for the empire, if maintained by such force and oppression, could not have flourished for three centuries successfully resisting the Muhammadan aggressions.

This class of feudatories who were bound by ties of military service to the king are said to have held lands of the king on an *amaram*[28] tenure and were hence known in the epigraphs as the *amaranāyakas*. There are a very large number of inscriptions which record the grant of lands to lords for military service. From the general nature of their military obligations it would appear that they were responsible for the supply of foot soldiers, horses and elephants for the wars. These *amarams* were resumable by the grantor if the stipulated service was not rendered. Neither the inscriptions nor the literature of the period give us an idea of the number of soldiers, horses and elephants each *amaranāyaka* was required to supply.[29] But they differed widely in their status and obligations.[30]

These military vassals gave their lands to minor chiefs on similar terms of military service. The prevalence of such a system is indicated by an inscription in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. A record at Ūṉaiyūr in that State registers a grant of land by Veṅgaḷappa Viśayālayadēva, chief of Śūraikkuḍi, to one Kurundaṉ *alias* Teriñjuveṭṭi, commander of the army at Kurundampiṟai, a *Paḍaip-paṟṟu*. The commanders were asked to pay the dues from their lands to the above chief and serve in his army.[31]

Mention may also be made of the subordinate kings who were bound to do military service to the emperor. They were semi-

28. *Amaram* means land or revenue granted by a chief to his retainers for military service (*Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. 1, p. 102).

29. Wilson suggests that each holder of an *amaram* was the commander of a thousand foot. (*Indian Glossary*, p. 21).

30. One record mentions a daḷavāy of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya who held some lands in the Hassan sthala for his *amara padeya nāyakatana*. (*E.C.*, V, Hn. 13). The term literally interpreted means the *Nāyakship* of his own *amara* force.

31. *I.P.S.*, 743.

independent rulers in their respective kingdoms, but owed allegiance to the imperial house. Such were the kings of Bankpur, Gerasope, and a few others. Nuniz says that they received no special respect at the imperial court in spite of their semi-independence. Speaking of some of them he says: "The kings who are subject are these, besides this king of Bengapor, namely the king of Gasopa, and the king of Bacanor and the king of Calecu and he of Batecala, and these when they come to the court of Bisnaga are not held in higher esteem than any other captains either by the king or by any other nobles."[32] But they received one concession from the imperial court, namely they were not compelled to go to court unless they were summoned.[33]

There was a special force at the capital which Nuniz calls the "King's guard", which consisted of foot soldiers, horses and elephants. We do not know the strength of this force. But it seems to have been large, for Nuniz says: "The king (Kṛṣnadēva Rāya) took of his guard six thousand horse and forty thousand foot, the pick of all his kingdom, men with shields, archers, and three hundred elephants to the battle of Raicūr."[34] To this group belonged two hundred horsemen whom we may call the gentlemen troopers at the imperial service. They attended on the king always, and were obliged to ride with him. After the king had mounted, he would count the two hundred horsemen, and whoever was missing was liable to be severely punished and his property confiscated. These gentlemen troopers were paid by the king, but were not granted lands.[35] We can well compare these gentlemen troopers with the *Ahadis* of the Mughal court, who always attended on the emperor, and owed allegiance to him and to no one else. A higher standard of efficiency and general worth was set up for an *Ahadi* than for an ordinary horseman.[36] It is possible that the same higher standard might have been expected of this group of cavalry of the Vijayanagar kings.[37]

32. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 371-2.
36. *J.I.H.*, IX, p. 288.
37. It would be interesting in this connection to note that in some respects these horsemen and attendants of the king bear also some resemblance to the *omrahs* of the Mughal court. Bernier describing the *omrahs* says: "Every *omrah* at court is obliged, under a certain penalty, to repair twice a day to the assem-

Nuniz speaks of another class of "captains" who were in the service of the king. Here the chronicler himself is not clear. He says: "During his (the king's) feasts and the almsgiving to his temples all these captains who are thus like renters must always attend the court, and of those whom this King has always about him and by whom he is accompanied in his court there are more than two hundred. These are obliged always to be present with the King, and must always maintain the full number of soldiers according to their obligations, for if he finds that they have a less number they were severely punished and their estates confiscated. These nobles are never suffered to settle themselves in cities or towns because they would there be beyond reach of his hand; they only go thither sometimes".[38] Apparently Nuniz here confuses between the feudal vassals who had certain military obligations to perform to the king and who were granted estates on a military tenure and their agents who were required to be always at the capital. We have no other evidence to show that these "captains" were forced to stay at the capital. But there are a large number of inscriptions which, coming as they do from the different parts of the empire, refer to the grants made by the *nāyakas* from the districts which had been granted to them for military service, though we also meet with a few epigraphs which record grants by the agents of these *nāyakas*. Nuniz himself says: "Those who are in the city and those who are away each

bly for the purpose of paying his respects to the king, at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he is there seated to dispense justice, and at six in the evening. An *omrah* must also in rotation keep guard in the fortress once every week during four and twenty hours.........Whenever the king takes an excursion in his paleky......all the *omrahs* who are not prevented by illness, disabled by age, or exempted by a peculiar office, are bound to accompany him on horseback exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to suffocating clouds of dust." (*Bernier*, p. 215). Similarly the Vijayanagar gentlemen troopers did obeisance to the king daily when he came to the hall of public audience in his palace at ten or eleven o'clock. But the method of this obeisance differed from that at the Mughal court for while one was a Muhammadan court the other was Hindu. Though it cannot be said with confidence that such a system was a Muhammadan institution and that the Hindu court simply copied it, yet it has to be admitted that the similarity of the two systems is striking. But there was an important difference between the status of a Vijayanagar gentleman trooper and a Mughal *omrah*. While the former was paid and maintained by the king, the latter was a nobleman whose duty and privilege it was to follow the ruler.

38. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

maintains a secretary "[39] and thereby indicates that some were away from the capital. Thus it is evident that Nuniz confuses between the feudal chiefs and their agents. It is only the latter that were permanently staying at the capital. That these "captains" who were the "renters" kept their agents at the capital at all times, even in times of peace, with their respective tributary contingents, will become clear from the following illustration. It was often the imperial policy that was followed in the provinces of the empire. Madura for instance was divided into seventy-two *pāḷaiyams* each of which was granted to a *pāḷaiyagār* who was required to make a fixed financial contribution, and supply a definite quota of the military to the Nāyak ruler of Madura. Besides these obligations each of them was required to maintain a certain number of troops at the capital for guarding one of the seventy-two bastions of the fort at Madura. The *pāḷaiyagārs* appointed their own men at the capital; and each of these agents stood a hostage for the loyalty of his master to the Nāyak ruler. The same system could well have obtained at the imperial court of Vijayanagar. Thus the captains, who according to Nuniz had always to attend the court, maintained the full number of soldiers according to obligations and were not allowed to settle in cities or towns, were in all likelihood the military agents of the "renters" and not the "renters" themselves. Here the words "more than two hundred" signifying not only the renters, but also their agents is of some special interest.

Thus recruitment to the Vijayanagar army was done in a variety of ways, for the forces were required for different purposes, and perhaps each class of the forces which was recruited for a particular purpose could not be engaged in any other duty.

It would be interesting to examine here the considerations that weighed in the recruitment to the army. In Vijayanagar the Brahmans occupied an important place in the army. They were not only placed in charge of fortresses but were also appointed to lead the armies. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya insists on the fact that the Brahmans alone should be placed in charge of fortresses. He says: "The king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmans as are attached to himself." . . . "The services of a Brahman are also (quite) necessary. So it is fit that he gives them charge

39. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

of well-filled fortresses and well-equipped forces and land".[40] Discussing in another place why the Bráhmans should be placed in charge of fortresses, he observes: "Entrust your forces to such Brahmans (generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak but give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from enemies . . . . because a Brahman would stick to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or a Śūdra. It is always advisable for a king to take a Brahman as his officer."[41] The history of Vijayanagar abounds with many instances where Brahmans were either generals or provincial Viceroys. Sāyaṇa, the brother of the great minister Mādhavācārya, Mādaṇṇa, Lakkaṇṇa, and Sāḷuva Timma are good instances in point. The Brahmans apart from being generals of forces and lords of forts were leaders of contingents in the wars. This is borne out by the evidence of a valuable inscription at Tirukkaḍaiyūr in the Tanjore district dated Vaiśya (Vṛṣa, A.D. 1521-22?) in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. The record states that a certain Brahman named Āpatsahāyan of Tirukkadiyūr took part in the war against Iraccūr (Raicūr in Bijapur) and pleased king Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[42] These pieces of evidence definitely show that in the Vijayanagar days Brahmans took part in the wars both as guardians of fortresses and leaders of armies. According to the account of Barbosa, among the men at arms were many knights who gathered at the imperial court from various lands to get their pay. His statement "nevertheless (they) do not cease to live according to their own laws",[43] also suggests that there were in the Vijayanagar armies soldiers from many communities in the empire. The account of Paes shows that there were also Muhammadan soldiers in the Vijayanagar armies.[44]

Section III

Divisions of the Army

In ancient India the army was divided into four divisions, namely, infantry, cavalry, elephants and war chariots. But gradually the

40. *Āmukta*, canto IV, vv. 261 and 255.
41. *Ibid.*, vv. 207 and 217.
42. 47 of 1906; *Rep.*, 1907, para 59.
43. *Barbosa*, I, p. 212.
44. Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 277.

chariots fell out of use, and by the days of Śrī Harṣa they had disappeared. The Vijayanagar epigraphs refer only to the other three divisions. A record of A.D. 1347 in the Sorab taluk of the Shimoga district mentions, for instance, that the army of the Kadamba king was composed of horsemen, elephants and foot-soldiers.[45] The Bitraguṇṭa grant of Saṅgama II mentions him as the lion to the troops of the furious elephants of the lords of elephants and horses and men.[46] Ibn Baṭūṭa, the Muhammadan traveller, says that the ruler of Hinawr (Honavar), Sultan Jalāl-ad-Dīn, who was a tributary of Haryab (Harihara I), had an army composed of horses and foot.[47] We have no reference to the chariots in that period. But artillery as a division of the army came into existence in the later Vijayanagar days thus making the division again four.

But Saletore affirms that the Vijayanagar armies consisted of six divisions. He says: "The Vijayanagar rulers......unintentionally followed the mediaeval precept of Śukra[48] rather than the classical injunctions which restricted the forces to the four well known names," and quotes the authority of an inscription of Dēva Rāya I and the Bakhair of Rāma Rāja to support his contention.[49] The inscription under reference states that "he (Dēva Rāya I) having for a long time carried out a fierce military expedition by order of his father king Harihara accompanied by the six components of the army, reached quickly the city."[50] But it must be remarked that it is difficult to infer from the reference to the six "components" in this inscription that the Vijayanagar armies were divided into six divisions. The epigraph merely states that there were six kinds of armies (*vidham*) and not six divisions (*aṅga*). The *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kāḷidāsa mentions six kinds of armies. It is said that Raghu with a desire to conquer the direc-

45. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.
46. *E.I.*, III, p. 33.
47. *Ibn Baṭūṭa*, The Broadway Travellers Edn., p. 231.
48. Śukra says: "The king should have his infantry four times the cavalry, bulls one-fifth of his horse, camels one-eighth, elephants one-fourth of the camels, chariots half of the elephants and cannon twice the chariots." (*Śukranīti*, IV, vii, l. 41, p. 128; *Soc. and Pol. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, I, p. 420). But curiously enough Śukra mentions seven and not six. Saletore tries to overcome the difficulty by remarking, "but in reality Śukra merely gave legal sanction to two of the parts already mentioned as auxiliaries by Kauṭilya—bulls and camels and introduced one new feature—artillery—which was unknown to the age of the *Arthaśāstra*. *Ibid.*, I, p. 420).
49. *Soc. and Pol. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, I, p. 421.
50. *Nel. Ins.*, I, pp. 4 and 7.

tions started with his six kinds of armies.[51] Here the armies referred to are the hereditary (*maula*), mercenary (*bhṛtaka*), belonging to guilds (*śreṇi*), those of an ally (*mitra*), those of an enemy (*amitra*), and those of forest tribes (*āṭavi*). The Vijayanagar inscription in question seems to refer to such variety of the forces that made up the Hindu army and not to its divisions. The Bakhair of Rāma Rāja gives a detailed account of the Hindu forces on the battle-field of Rakṣas Taṅgḍi, and says that there were in them large hosts of horses, camels, elephants, artillery, bulls and foot soldiers.[52] Though the Vijayanagar armies consisted of these six parts, we do not know if they were engaged in the wars. The camels and bulls must have been only auxiliaries of the main forces that fought in the battle. Nuniz while describing the Hindu forces that marched to the battle of Raicūr says that there were in them many sumpter-mules, asses and oxen, which carried all the supplies and many other burdens such as tents and other things.[53] Thus these served only as auxiliaries of the main armies. In the face of such data it is difficult to agree with Saletore in his assertion that there were six divisions in the Vijayanagar armies.

1. *Infantry*: A large portion of the armies was made up of foot-soldiers. The largeness was due perhaps to the fact that they consisted of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras if the injunctions of Kauṭalya had been followed in that period with regard to the recruitment to the armies.[54] As for the dress of the Vijayanagar soldiers, Ferishta says that they generally went to the battlefield "quite naked and had their bodies anointed with oil to prevent their being easily seized."[55] But Paes, while describing the review of the forces by the king, says that their dress was very rich with many colours.[56] But such a glowing description of the splendid appearance and armaments of the troops only suggests that the soldiers appeared in the best of their dress on such ceremonial occasions as the review of the forces by the king. And it is only likely that the common soldiers were dressed very lightly in the battle-fields.[57] The weapons of warfare used by the Vijayanagar

51. Canto IV, v. 27.
52. See Saletore, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 417-18.
53. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
54. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. IX, ch. 2.
55. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 137.
56. Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 277.
57. See Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 277 and *fn.* 2, where he says: "I have seen on seve-

soldiers were swords, arches, bows and arrows, daggers, battle-axes with the shafts, musquets, blunderbusses, javelins, Turkish bows, bombs, spears and fire missiles,[58] short swords and poignards, which were in girdles.[59] The *Madhurāvijayam* and the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* mention the use of such weapons as *śastra* (dagger, sword), *śarāsana* (arrow), *asi* (sword), *karpaṇa* (a kind of spear), *kaṭhārikāstram* (a kind of arrow), *kārmukam* (bow), and *mudgara* (hammer, hammer-like weapon). The soldiers also used the *phalaka* (shield) as a protection against the arrows of the enemies. At times a leather shield (*carmadhāraṇa*) was also used.[60] Speaking about the shields Nuniz says that they were so large that there was no need for armour to protect the body.[61] The inscriptions also refer to the use of such weapons as the axe,[62] and dagger.[63] From the illustration, in the third volume of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, of a few weapons of war depicted on the viragals or memorial stones to heroes killed in some fight probably in 1419, we can infer that big knives were used for executing persons, and that swords were also used by the army in those days.[64]

2. *Cavalry* : The next important division of the army was the cavalry. In fact the Vijayanagar kings were so strong in their cavalry and able to win success in many of the wars only with its help that they were generally called the *aśvapatis*. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya himself says that he won a battle against the Sultan of Bidar with the help of the horses.[65] The foreign policy of the kings was greatly influenced by their keen desire to get a good supply of horses from Ormuz. The pursuit of such a policy was necessitated by the

ral occasions bodies of men collected together at Vijayanagar and the neighbourhood dressed and armed in a manner which they assured me was traditional. They wore rough tunics and short drawers of cotton stained to a rather dark red brown colour admirably adapted for forest work, but of a deeper hue than our English Khaki. They grimly assured me that the colour concealed to a great extent the stains of blood from wounds."

58. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 304 and 328.
60. *Madhurāvijayam*, canto III, vv. 2 and 3. *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*, canto IV, vv. 14, 15, 17, 43; canto VI, vv. 22 and 24.
61. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
62. 179 of 1910.
63. E.C., VIII, Sb. 19.
64. See *E.C.*, III, *Intro.*, p. 34.
65. *Āmukta.*, canto I, v. 42.

fact that the Carnatic horses were weak and lean and hence not able to bear fatigue.[66]

About the expenditure of a king, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says: "The expenditure of money which is utilised in buying elephants and horses, in feeding them, in maintaining soldiers, in the worship of Gods and Brahmans and in one's own enjoyment can never be called an expenditure."[67] In another place he suggests that the king should spend half of his income in the maintenance of the army (of which the expenditure on horses formed a large part).[68] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, for instance, purchased every year thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz and country-breds, and kept for himself the best ones.[69] The Vijayanagar kings valued the horses so much, that, if Nuniz may be believed, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha "took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive."[70] Though this is perhaps an exaggeration, it shows the great value the Vijayanagar kings placed on horses. According to the account of Barbosa the price of the horses ranged from 400 to 600 *cruzados*.[71] Nuniz, however, gives different prices for them. In one place he says that they were purchased at 4¾ horses per thousand *pardaos*,[72] while elsewhere he remarks that they were selling at the rate of twelve to fifteen for a thousand *pardaos*.[73] Hence as Dames suggests the price of the horse seems to have varied between £78 and 26, or 1170 and 390 in Indian rupees.[74]

These horses were branded with the king's mark and given over to horsemen with the necessary provisions for every month, and when they died the maintainer of the dead horse was obliged to take the piece of skin containing the king's mark to the Chief Master of the horse so that another was given in its place.[75] Each

66. Scott, *Ferishta*; see Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
67. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 262.
68. *Ibid.*, v. 238.
69. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-2.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 307; for a similar statement of Marco Polo regarding the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, See K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 192-3.
71. About Rs. 2325 to 3375 in the estimate of Dames; *Barbosa*, I, p. 210.
72. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 361 and *fn.* 2.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 381.
74. *Barbosa*, I, p. 210.
75. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

knight was given one horse for his own riding, a groom and a slave girl for his service and the necessary daily supplies. If he did not maintain it properly he was deprived of his horse and given another which was of an inferior quality.[76]

The horses were fully caparisoned, had plates on their foreheads, and the cavalrymen wore quilted tunics made of layers of stony raw leather and furnished with iron plates which made them strong, and had their umbrellas of state held over their head.[77]

3. *Elephants*: Elephants were of great use in ancient and mediaeval warfare, and the Vijayanagar kings used them largely in their battles. Abdur Razāk affirms that there were in the court of Dēva Rāya II more than thousand elephants "lofty as hills and gigantic as demons."[78] According to Nikitin large scythes were attached to the trunks of the elephants, and they carried each a citadel in which were twelve men in armour with guns and arrows,[79] but Varthema would have us believe that each elephant carried only six men, and had long swords attached to its trunk in battle.[80] With these may be compared the description of Nuniz. He says that from the howdahs of the war elephants fought four men on each side of them, and that on their tusks were fastened sharp knives with which they did great harm.[81] Paes too says that three or four persons used to fight from the back of the war elephants, and he describes the elephants as covered with caparison of velvet and gold and bells and that on their heads were painted faces of giants and other kinds of great beasts.[82]

4. *Artillery*: Artillery had no great importance in the wars of ancient and mediaeval South India. It was only in the Vijayanagar days that it made its appearance on the scenes of battle. It would be interesting to examine here when exactly gun powder began to be used in South India. In describing the battle of 1368 fought between Bukka I and the Bahmani Sultan, the *Tohfut-us-Salātīn* mentions gun carriages and batter-

76. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 210-211.
77. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-77. For a note on the quilted tunics see *ibid.*, p. 276, *fn.* 2.
78. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 105.
79. Major, *India*, p. 12.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
81. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

ing rams.[83] Briggs surmised that it was possible that the Muhammadans might have procured the guns in 1368 from the west as they had been used by Edward III eighteen years earlier at the battle of Cressy.[84] Thus if the Muhammadan work is to be believed it is reasonable to infer that guns were used in 1368. But the works of ancient *Nīti* literature show that the Hindus were acquainted with the use of guns. Śukrācārya, for instance, mentions them.[85] The date of Śukra is a matter of doubt but though he is considered to be a mediaeval writer the fact that he refers to the guns shows that they were in use in that period.

Epigraphical evidence also indicates the use of fire-arms and guns in the Vijayanagar period. An inscription in the Sāgar taluk in the Shimoga district dated A.D. 1441 (?) records that one *Mahāprabhu* Bayica Gavuḍa was supplying gun powder to the Naḍaṅgiri nāḍ Rāja.[86] The use of guns in the Vijayanagar period is also proved by the evidence of the chronicle of Nuniz. According to his account several cannons were taken by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to Raicūr for the battle.[87] In the *Āmuktamālyada* the same emperor speaks of the fortresses "which are garrisoned and provided with engines", which may have included guns.[88]

SECTION IV

The March and the Fight

From the literature and epigraphs of the period we get some interesting details about the declaration of wars, the march of the armies and the fight of the forces.

Barbosa says that the king decided in his Council as to the necessity for his going to the battle.[89] Nuniz also mentions the Council of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya which he consulted before he undertook his campaigns against the Sultan of Bijapur.[90]

83. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 312.
84. *Ibid.*, *fn.*
85. Śukra, IV, ii, vv. 60-63; Saletore, *op. cit.*, I, p. 431.
86. *E.C.*, VIII, Sa. 68. The text has '*Maddina sēvayum naḍasittuda*'. It may also mean 'who was carrying on the service of medicine' *i.e.*, who was a physician in his service.
87. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
88. Canto IV, v. 264.
89. *Barbosa*, I, p. 224.
90. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-25.

The kings first declared war against the enemies. The *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* for instance says that Narasiṁha resolved to set out on an expedition of conquest of Udayagiri and ordered a public announcement of the resolve.[91] Just before the starting of the expedition the feudal vassals were summoned to the court and were given rich presents. They were also entertained at a banquet at the capital.[92] Then an advance army was sent into the enemy's territory. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is said to have asked a part of his force to proceed to a distance of three *āmaḍas* (thirty miles) into the enemy's territories and gather from there men, cattle, sheep and goats that they may not be available to the enemy.[93] This is in a way confirmed by Nuniz who in describing the advance troops that went to Raicūr says: "Three or four leagues in front of this multitude go some fifty thousand men who are like scouts; they have to spy out the country in front and always keep at a distance".[94] The king himself started a little later. Before he started he made his offerings and performed sacrifices.[95] Barbosa gives a descriptive account of how the king started for his wars. According to him on the appointed day the king went to an open space mounted on an elephant or a palanquin as if for his pleasure, along with his horsemen and footmen and many elephants drawn up in a line all richly dressed. He then mounted a horse and shot an arrow in the direction of the country with which he was about to wage war. He then gave out in how many days he would be starting for the war.[96]

These preliminaries over, the forces started on the march. There were no forced marches then as in later times. If Barbosa can be believed, they marched only three leagues a day, and soon after the day's march was over, they built a town of straw on some open space, and erected houses arranged in streets where they halted for three days, after which they again proceed to the next camping ground. They marched at that rate until they reached the appointed place.[97]

The temporary camp of the king and his soldiers presented the appearance more of a festive city than of a military camp. All the

91. S. K. Aiyangar. *Sources*. p. 91.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 111; see also p. 130 for Kṛṣṇa Rāya's reception.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
94. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 326; *Sāhityaratnākaram*, canto XIV, vv. 30-34.
96. *Barbosa*, I, p. 224.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

camp was divided into many streets; and there were markets in them, where could be had all the necessaries of life and even luxuries like diamonds and precious stones for sale. There were also professional hucksters and craftsmen in the armies. The king himself stayed in the tent specially erected for him surrounded by a great hedge of thorns, with only one entrance. The guards who were outside were on their watch duty all through the night at fixed spots. There were also spies at work who patrolled all night through the camp and watched to see if they could catch any spies.[98] There were a large number of public women, who, in the army that marched to Raicūr, numbered twenty thousand. In the armies there were also thousands of men with water-skins who sought water for the fighting men lest they should die of thirst. There were also many merchants in the armies with all supplies.[99] The presence of merchants in the armies is also indicated by the evidence of epigraphy. An incomplete inscription at Tirumalai in the Chittore district mentions a merchant in an army.[100]

We have not got enough details to form any correct idea about the fighting arrangements of the forces. Nuniz tells us that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya 'divided his army into seven wings' at the battle of Raicūr.[101] In the battle of Rakṣas Tangḍi the Hindu army was divided into three wings—the right was in the charge of Tirumala, the left in the charge of Veṅkaṭādri while the centre was commanded by Rāma Rāja himself.[102]

The army was divided into many units. According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, when Bukka Rāju Rāma Rāju marched against the fort of Kandanavōlu (Kurnul) which was then in the occupation of Savāi (the Aḍil K͟Hān) and laid siege to it, each unit of his army is said to have consisted of one elephant, twenty horses, sixty archers, sixty swordsmen and sixty spearmen. There were 3,500 such units. But we do not know whether the numbers are accurate.[103]

From the inscriptions of the period we learn something about the methods of fight prevalent in those days.[104] Hand to hand

98. Sewell, *op cit.*, pp. 332-34.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 328-29.
100. *T. T. D. I.*, I, No. 236.
101. Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 336.
102. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 204.
103. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 102.
104. According to Rice an inscription of A.D. 1403 mentions a particular

fight seems to have been in vogue. A record says that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha snatched a sword (*kaṭhāri*) from a warrior in the course of a hand to hand fight and that on account of this he was called *Kaṭhāri Sāḷuva*.[105] The *Madhurāvijayam* also describes such a hand to hand fight which took place outside the Rājagambhīra fort between Kampaṇa and the Śambuvarāya chief who was the lord of that region.[106]

A practice peculiar to the wars of the period was that of setting fire to the temporary cities made for the army on the route of its march. Barbosa mentions the practice, but curiously enough he says that the king issued a proclamation ordering the whole city to be set fire to except the palaces, fortresses, temples and the houses of certain lords that were not thatched, so that all men might attend with their wives, sons, and households.[107] Dames has shown how ridiculous this statement of Barbosa is, and says that it was evidently the interpolation of an intelligent copyist and adds that what Barbosa said was, " not that the king set fire to his capital, but that when he was on the march before starting for the next camping ground, he had the temporary town of grass huts which had been erected for the accommodation of his army burnt."[108] The inscriptions do not throw any direct light on this interesting question.[109]

kind of fight called *sāmbrāni*. It states that the *Mahānāyakācārya* having a mind to see a fight with left foot advanced and the right foot in the *sāmbrāni* fashion, one Cennappa fighting against Caṇḍa Bova in front of his master in a battle at Nāgārjunakōṭe died and went to the feet of the Gods in the world of Gods. The exact phrase used in the inscription is *yedada kāla śāci balada kāla sāmbrāni raṇa*. It is not however found in the Kanarese text but is supplied by Rice. The Kanarese text has *svambrāni raṇa*; and there is nothing to justify the addition of the word 'fashion'. It seems to refer to a battle fought at a place probably called Svambrāni. (See *E.C.*, XI, Ck. 42).

105. *M.A.R.*, 1925, No. 111. However the title *Kaṭhāri* was borne by the Sāḷuvas even before the time of Narasiṁha.

106. Canto IV, vv. 77-82.

107. *Barbosa*, I, p. 225.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 225 *fn.*

109. A record of A.D. 1537-38 found at Kīranūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State contains an imprecation in the following words: சிதம்பரம் சியாழி புள்ளு யிருக்கு வெளுரிலெ நெரிப்பிட்ட பாவத்திலெபோக கடவன். (*I.P.S.*, 744). But this has no reference to the practice of setting fire to temporary military camps.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya suggests that the kings must not go personally into the enemy country, and that " it is meet that he appoints one of his lords and sends him on the business."[110] Barbosa says that the king of Vijayanagar seldom went to war himself but sent his captains and armies.[111] It is likely that the kings did not lead expeditions unless they were driven to that necessity. Acyuta Rāya, for instance, though he takes credit for the subjugation of many of his provinces, yet does not seem to have taken the field himself. When Cellappa's rebellion was being put down he was spending his time in the company of scholars at Śrīraṅgam.[112] But curiously enough Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was in this respect an exception to his own maxim. Even to quell a small rebellion he took the field in person.

From the *Rāyavācakamu* we learn that with the commission given to a general to lead the forces were also given betel and nut. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, having heard from his spies of the atrocities committed by the Muhammadans in his dominions, summoned from among his *amaranāyakam* generals the chief Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅga, and asked his advice as to how he was to act under the circumstances. Rāmaliṅga assured the king that if he should be entrusted with the commission he could rout the enemy in no time. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya approved of the idea, and presented him with betel and nut in token of his leadership in the attack.[113]

During the course of the fight, if the kings led the armies, they themselves encouraged the soldiers to fight or in their absence appointed men for the purpose. Ferishta says that Bukka I asked the Brahmans to deliver sermons to his troops on the merit of slaughtering the Muhammadans, for they were the destroyers of the Hindu temples and their images and the slaughterers of cows.[114] When Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya saw that his forces had been made to take to their heels by the Muhammadans in the initial stages of the battle of Raicūr, he rebuked his soldiers for their cowardice, and encouraged them by saying that since all of them had to die some day, they should meet their death boldly at the battlefield as was their

110. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 255.
111. *Barbosa*, I, p. 224.
112. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 159-60.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
114. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 314.

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Vellore Fort East View

custom.[115] In the battle of Rakṣas Taṅgḍi, Tirumala, the brother of Rāma Rāja, lost one of his eyes and fled from the battlefield. When the latter heard this, his anger knew no bounds, and in order to encourage his troops he remounted his horse, and shouting several times " Gorida, Gorida !" charged the allied armies with his men.[116]

SECTION V

The Fort and the Siege

In the wars of the middle ages forts played a prominent part. No province was without a few forts where were stationed military contingents to guard the country from external aggression and put down internal rebellion. Even in the days of the Mahrattas the forts were of immense use in times of war. They were strongly garrisoned ; and it was only at enormous cost and considerable loss of life, not to speak of the tediously long months and years spent, that many of them were reduced by the Mughals. The Vijayanagar kings too realised the necessity and the usefulness of forts. They constructed many such where they did not exist. An epigraph at the fort of Gutti in the Anantapur district describes the Gutti *Durga* as the nave of the wheel of the sovereignty over the whole earth of the illustrious king Bukka.[117]

The forts can be classified under four heads. They are the *sthala durga* (fort built on land), *jala durga* (fort surrounded by water), *giri durga* (hill fort) and *vanadurga* (fort built in the midst of forests).[118] It was not all places that had forts. The capital and certain places in the empire had forts. The other kinds of fortifications were the forests and mountains. They warded off trouble from enemies and robbers. That forests were reared near the fortresses on the frontiers of the empire is also shown by the evidence of the *Āmuktamālyada*, in which Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says: " Increase the forests that are near your frontier fortress (*gadideśa*) and destroy all those that are in the middle of your territory. Then alone you will not have trouble from robbers."[119] Paes also remarks that

115. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-39.
116. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty,* I, p. 208; Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *His Pilgrims,* X, p. 93.
117. *S. I. I.*, I, p. 167; 85 of 1903.
118. *Rāyavācakamu, Jour. of the Tel. Aca.*, III, p. 30.
119. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 256.

there were fortresses on the frontiers of the Vijayanagar empire and that forests were reared near them. He says that on the east of the two kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Orissa there were very dense forests which formed a strong fortress on both sides.[120]

Forts were erected also in the regions newly conquered or where there were certain rebellious tribes. The epigraphs of the period refer to the *paḍaippaṟṟu* which literally means a military station or a cantonment. For instance an inscription of A.D. 1406 found at Kīranūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State mentions that the place was a *paḍaippaṟṟu*.[121] Invariably there was a fort in each of these military centres where some military were stationed. Evidently for the maintenance of these forts a charge called the *kōṭṭai paṇam* was collected from the people.[122]

From the inscriptions of the period we get some glimpse of the parts of the forts. They were the moat, the rampart, the flag-staff, the parapet, the bastions and breast works.[123] The importance of the bastion is thus indicated in an inscription. It states that one Śiṅga Rāja erected the bastion named *Rājagambhīra* and called it the indispensable bastion (*avasarada koṭṭaḷa*).[124] There were also special bastions for placing cannon.[125] A few of the more important and strategical places seem to have had two forts. An inscription in the Mālūr taluk in the Kōlār district records for instance that Śiṅga Rāja by order of Gōpa Rāja erected both the inner and the outer forts in Tēkal in A.D. 1434.[126] A few forts had two lines of fortifications. The Tēkal fort was one such. An epigraph in the same Mālūr taluk records that during the time of Dēva Rāya Mahārāya and when Gōpa Rāya was ruling the Tēkal city Śiṅga Rāja had the two lines of fortifications built.[127] Many of the forts had towers also. According to an inscription in the Hiriyūr taluk of the Chitaldrug district, four towers were constructed for the fort at Kaṇḍahaḷḷi.[128] The fort was generally a town in itself. There were colonies for the various castes within it. An epigraph at

120. Sewell, *op cit.*, pp. 243-44.
121. *I.P.S.*, 690. [The interpretation here offered of *paḍaipparru* is doubtful. It is better understood as a military fief.—*Ed.*]
122. *T.A.S.*, V, pt. iii, p. 205 ; see *ante*, p. 68 and *fn.*
123. *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 2.
124. *E.C.*, X, Mr. 1.
125. *E.C.*, V, Cn. 160.
126. *E.C.*, X, Mr. 1.
127. *Ibid.*, 4.
128. *E.C.*, XI, Hr. 39.

Tiruvaḍi in the South Arcot district dated A.D. 1536-37 refers to a Brahman street within the fort of the place.[129] References like this to such streets lead us to think that each caste had a separate quarter in the fort. Many of the forts seem to have had temples within them. For instance an inscription at Caṅdragiri dated A.D. 1537 mentions two temples within the fort at the place.[130]

Paes says that the whole country was thickly populated with cities and towns, which were surrounded only by earthen walls and that they were not allowed to have brick walls lest they should become too strong.[131] But this seems to be true only of ordinary cities and not applicable to military stations.

About the methods of siege we are not able to get much information. But the following details may be gathered from the literature and inscriptions of the period. On certain occasions the king or general who wanted to capture a fort threw his trumpet inside the fort of the enemy and fetched it back after capturing it. An inscription in the Mysore State describes this as the method that was followed by Kaṭhāri Sāḷuva.[132] Nuniz gives a cogent and clear description of the siege of Raicūr by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya which might have been one of the methods adopted with regard to the capture of forts in those days.[133] At times when access to a particular fortified city or fort was rendered difficult by the inundation of the rivers surrounding it, then the waters were sought to be directed into new channels. When Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya marched to lay siege to the city where the lord of the land of 'Catuir' was, he was prevented from doing so as the city was surrounded by water. Hence he diverted the river in 'fifty different beds' as a result of which all the water drained out of the main river and Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was able to reach the walls of the fortified city.[134]

The *Rāyavācakamu* gives some interesting details about what was done after the capture of a particular fort. According to it, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya easily captured the outskirts of the city of Ahmadnagar and fought a pitched battle with the enemy's horse outside the city. In a very short time 2,800 of the enemy's cavalry

129. 376 of 1921.
130. 244 of 1904.
131. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
132. *M. A. R.*, 1924, No. 111.
133. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-31 and 343-44.
134. *Ibid*, p. 321.

were destroyed, and the emperor gained a complete victory. The garrison within the fort thought that they could not stand a siege by Kṛṣṇa, and in order to avoid the storming of the fort, evacuated it and retreated to the interior. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya thus got possession of the fort very easily and directed the fortifications to be destroyed. He then ordered castor seeds to be sown where the fortifications had stood.[135]

But these instances only show that different methods were adopted with regard to the capture of the forts; there could not, however, have been any hard and fast rule as to how a fort was to be taken, for the method adopted must have depended upon the circumstances.

SECTION VI

Military Organisation

Of the many branches of the government the military department was one, and this in the Vijayanagar days was called the *Kandācāra.*[136] We get only very little information from the inscriptions about the military department and the various officers of the army. There was a chief officer in charge of the military department who was variously called the *Śēnāpati,*[137] *Sarvasainyādhikāri*[138] and *Daḷavāy.*[139] He attended to the administration of the military department. It is likely he was a member of the Ministerial Council. Here it is necessary to note the distinction between a *Daṇḍanāyaka* and a *Daḷavāy.* While the title *Daṇḍanāyaka* was a general one which was borne by many of the officers of government, the title *Daḷavāy* was a special title taken by officers in charge of the army.[140]

135. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 114-15.
136. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 579; *E.C.*, XI, Jl. 24. This term is made up of two words *Skanda* and *ācāra* meaning usage or practice of Skanda, the army-god, i.e., the god of war. *Kanda* is the Prākṛt form of Skanda. See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI-42-22 where the term *Skandhāvāra* is used in the sense of a military camp.
137. 18 of 1889.
138. *E.C.*, XI, Dv. 29.
139. 145 of 1924; 309 of 1923.
140. See *ante*, pp. 32-34 for a discussion of the question.

As regards the minor officers of the army Nuniz mentions two, of whom one was the Commander of the palace guards, and the other was the Chief Master of the horse.[141] As for the officer in charge of the elephants he has nothing to say. As the military organisation was largely based on feudal principles, we do not get any reference either in inscriptions or in literature to the various grades of military officers. But from the accounts of foreign travellers we are able to learn that the status of a military commander depended on the number of horses he was allowed to maintain under him. Paes says : " Some men of them who are of a higher rank than others have two horses or three and others have no more than one."[142] An inscription of A.D. 1447 refers to a chief who had 1,000 horse and 100,000 foot.[143]

The soldiers were generally paid in cash from the king's treasury. This is borne out by the writings of the foreign travellers. But the writers differ widely in the details they give about the time when payment was made. Abdur Razāk says : " The sipahis receive their pay every four months, and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provinces ".[144] Paes, however, remarks that the king (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya) held a review of his guard and paid them all, because it was the beginning of the year, and it was their custom to pay salaries year by year.[145] Nuniz, however, speaking about the soldiers (among whom were horsemen, spearmen, shield-bearers, men in the elephants' stables, grooms, horse trainers and artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons, carpenters and washermen) says : " These are the people he has and pays every day ; he gives them their allowance at the gate of the palace."[146] Here it seems likely that the soldiers at the imperial service were given only their daily allowance every day for their maintenance and not their pay. If Nuniz means by his statement that the pay of the soldiers was also given them daily, he seems to be wrong. But it is difficult to account for the difference between the statements of Abdur Razāk and Paes. We may assume, however, that by the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya a change was effected in the method of payment to the soldiers, and that annual payments were preferred to three payments being made every year.

141. Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 384.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
143. 33 of 1917.
144. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 109.
145. Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 283.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

It is the foreign chroniclers again that give us an idea of the amount of pay the soldiers received. According to Barbosa the monthly pay of the men at arms was four to five *pardaos*, which, Dames calculates to range between £1-10s. and £1-17s.-4d., or in Indian rupees between 22-8-0 and 28. He also remarks: "This would not be considered low even at the present day, and in the early sixteenth century when taken in connection with the other privileges, it meant affluence".[147] Paes too gives us an idea of the annual pay of the troops of the guard. He says that a review of the king's troops was held when the identification of the soldiers was checked and pay disbursed. According to him the pay of the men of the guard ranged between six hundred and a thousand *pardaos*. Thus the annual pay of the highest military officer was about Rs. 47,000, which it must be admitted was not after all low taking into account the enormous privileges he enjoyed.[148]

The government granted lands to people in return for the supply of the necessaries for the armies. An inscription dated A.D. 1558 and found at Kaure in the Chitaldrug district, records the grant of land, formerly given for the maintenance of troops but now given rent free into the hands of Rāmappa Gauḍa, for the village Kaure as *hul koḍage* and *ura koḍage*. This probably means that these lands were to be enjoyed by the whole body of villagers rent free on condition that they supplied fodder for the army.[149]

Another inscription dated A.D. 1447 records that a service *mānya* was granted by the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Pratāpa Rāya to Pedda Ceppappa Reḍḍi, the *deśāyi* of Māyikoṭṭapura. It states: "For the service of supplying grass to our horses we have ordered that the lands now in the enjoyment of your people of the Samudra-kulācāra wherever they may reside should be free from imposts specified. You are at liberty to cultivate the lands in your places well and to enjoy in succession whatever crops you may grow with all rights specified and without army molestation".[150]

At the close of the *Mahānavami* festival every year the king held a general review of the forces. This practice of reviewing the army does not seem to have been in existence in the Hindu empires in India prior to the days of Vijayanagar. It would

147. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 210 and 211 *fn*.
148. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
149. *M. A. R.*, 1929, No. 11.
150. *E.C.*, XII, Tm. 52.

appear that this was a Muhammadan practice, and it was perhaps in imitation of their northern neighbours that the Vijayanagar sovereigns held their annual reviews. Paes who was an eye-witness to one of such reviews held by king Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, gives a graphic and vivid account of it. All the soldiers, horses, elephants and captains gathered together near the capital, in the best of their dress. The king dressed in the best of his robes passed through his soldiers amidst scenes of great noise and enthusiasm to a tent pitched on one side of the army where he performed certain ceremonies and returned again amidst similar scenes of exuberent joy and exultant cries of the soldiers.[151] Nuniz adds that when the king had reached the other end of the army he shot three arrows namely one for the Ydallcão, another for the king of Cotamuloco and yet another for the Portuguese, and that it was the king's custom to make war on the kingdom lying in the direction where the arrow reached farthest.[152] Barbosa also alludes to this practice. It is said to have been one of the formalities which the Rāyas observed before the declaration of war on their enemies.[153] But Paes makes no mention of this practice though he was an eye-witness to one of such reviews. Hence it is difficult to believe Nuniz and Barbosa. After all it might have been only a popular belief about the significance of the three shots.

Here a word may be said about military routes. In ancient and mediaeval India roads were made for two purposes: for the facility of trade and for the march of the armies. A few Vijayanagar inscriptions refer to military roads. A record of A.D. 1524 mentions *daṇḍina dāri* and *daṇḍamārga* (military road).[154] Two records of the time of Sadāśiva Rāya found at Halegere in the Bellary district also refer to the *daṇḍudova* (military route).[155]

The Hindu army of Vijayanagar though large in size was lacking in efficiency. Hence Dēva Rāya II introduced certain reforms in his army. Ferishta is our only authority who speaks about this reorganisation of the forces. He says: "He (Dēva Rāya II) called a general council of his nobility and principal Brahmins, observing to them that as his country of Car-

151. See Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp 275-79
152. *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79.
153. *Barbosa*, I, p. 224.
154. *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 133-34.
155. 730 and 731 of 1919.

natic in extent, population and revenue far exceedeth the territories of the house of Bahmanee; and in like manner his army was far more numerous, he wished therefore to explore the cause of the Mussulman's successes, and his being reduced to pay them tribute. Some said . . . that the superiority of the Mussulmans arose from two circumstances: one, all their horses being strong, and being able to bear more fatigue than the weak lean animals of Carnatic; the other a great body of excellent archers always kept up by the Sultans of the house of Bahmanee of whom the Roy had but few in his army.

"Dee Roy upon this gave orders for the entertainment of Mussulmans in his service, allotted them jaghires, erected a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur, and commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion. He also ordered a *Koraun* to be placed before his throne, on a rich desk, that the Mussulmans might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws. He also made all the Hindoo soldiers learn the discipline of the bow; in which he and his officers used such exertions, that he had at length two thousand Mussulmans and sixty thousand Hindoos well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances."[156]

The entertainment of the Muslims in the Hindu army at Vijayanagar is borne out by other pieces of evidence also. Paes in describing the army of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya remarks: "The Moors—one must not forget them—for they were there also in the review with their shields, javelins and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire missiles; and I was much astonished to find amongst them men who knew so well how to work these weapons."[157] According to a record of A.D. 1430 Dēva Rāya II had ten thousand Turuṣka horsemen in this service.[158] A record of A.D. 1440-41 mentions one Ahmad KHān, who was a servant of the king Vīra Pratāpa Dēva Rāya, II, and constructed a well.[159] According to an inscription of Sadāśiva Rāya the emperor made a grant to Brahmans at the request of one Ain-ul-Mulk,[160] which act presupposes the existence of good relations between the

156. Scott, *Ferishta*, I, p. 118; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 72
157. Sewell, *op cit.*, pp. 277-78.
158. E.C., III, Sr. 15.
159. 18 of 1904.
160. *E.I.*, XIV, p. 231, vv. 64-68.

Muhammadans and the Hindus. The anonymous chronicler says that Rāma Rāja used to call this Ain-ul-Mulk his brother.[161]

But it must be noted that though there was so much apparent harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims, the enlistment of the Muhammadans in the Hindu army in those days was a dangerous step taken by Dēva Rāya II. Though their enlistment in the Hindu forces was done with the best of intentions by the emperor, ultimately it proved to be a fatal policy, as borne out by the treacherous attitude of two Muhammadans in the service of Vijayanagar at the hour of need on the occasion of the battle of Rakṣas Taṅgḍi. We are informed of their treachery by Caesar Frederick, but for whose detailed account we would be in the dark about the real cause of the defeat of the Hindus at the historic battle. He says: "These four Kings were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger but by treason. This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all others of his Captaines two which were notable, and they were Moores ; and these two Captaines had either of them in charge three score and ten or four score thousand men. These two Captaines being of one religion with the foure Kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields ; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres, because the two traitorous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight with their companies turned their faces against their King and made disorder in his Armie that as astonished they set themselves to flight."[162] Anquetil du Perron too endorses this statement and observes : "The king abandoned during the battle by two Muhammadan chiefs perished."[163]

We may examine here if there was a War Council in the Vijayanagar days. Our evidence shows that there was a general Council which the kings consulted, but it was not a mere War Council. In times of peace it attended to the ordinary administration of the empire. The Councillors were men of distinction and hence were consulted on all matters of state, civil and military. Ferishta

161. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 381.

162. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 92-93.

163. See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 212, *fn.* 2 and C. R. Krishnamacharlu; *The Origin, Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire, Ind. Ant.*, LII, p. 11.

speaking about the reorganisaion of the Vijayanagar armies in the days of Dēva Rāya II says, the king "called a general council of his nobility and principal Brahmins ",[164] which shows that members of his Council were allowed to discuss the questions. Nuniz too mentions the Council of Kṛṣṇa Rāya which he consulted before he undertook his campaigns against the Sultan of Bijapur.[165] But how far was the advice tendered by the Council binding on the kings ? Though the kings sought the advice of their Council at times of war they do not seem to have been bound to act up to the advice given by it. Everything depended on the strength of will of the sovereign. If he was strong enough to have his own way he could well do so. For instance when Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh refused to surrender Cide Mercar, a Vijayanagar fugitive in the Bijāpūr territory, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya summoned "the great lords of his council," told them that he was determined to take full vengeance on him, and asked them to make ready for the war. The pleadings of the Councillors that the cause for the proposed war was too small fell only on deaf ears ; so they "finding the king unmoved" in spite of their strong protests began to advise him on the route he was to take for his campaigns. The king seeing the soundness of their advice accepted it, and prepared for his march.[166] This account of Nuniz clearly shows that the kings accepted the advice of the Councillors only if they were agreeable to them.

Despite the huge size and elaborate organisation of the armies of Vijayanagar they were inefficient when compared with those of their Muhammadan neighbours. Individual soldiers might have been brave; a few might have been good and trained warriors. But as an organised body they were inefficient. Dēva Rāya II effected some improvements to secure the efficiency of his army, but that was not enough. He contented himself with the reorganisation of the imperial forces, but forgot the fact that the Vijayanagar armies were constituted of the feudal levies also. His reforms did not reach the provinces. In them the people converted their ploughshares into sword blades just before a war and when the war was over they settled on the land again.

When the military is organised on a feudal basis it cannot be strong. Centrifugal tendencies are sure to assert themselves where the central government is not strong enough to enforce its com-

164. Scott, *Ferishta*, I, p. 118; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
165. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
166. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.

mands. Military contingents are not sent whenever ordered. And the provinces sometimes begin to take sides in palace intrigues and personal quarrels. When there was a succession dispute at the capital on the death of Veṅkaṭa II the weakness of the feudal arrangement was fully revealed. Madura, because of its comparative distance from the imperial headquarters, was able to hold its own against Vijayanagar. The Nāyak rulers of Madura rebelled as often as they could against the imperial yoke. Thus the co-operation of the feudatories in the imperial policy was neither hearty nor regular. Further the feudal basis of the military organisation was always a source of danger. The feudal chief or military vassal had his own standing army and a number of smaller feudatory vassals who were responsible to him and not to the king at the imperial headquarters. The feudal chief could hold his own against the emperor without the fear that his own vassal would join the emperor against him. This was a source of weakness to the military organisation in the empire. When there was a line of weak kings at the centre, and strong and able rulers in the provinces, the empire lost its unity and coherence. The feudal chiefs waged wars and led campaigns into the territories of one another altogether ignoring the existence of the central government. Under such a system the military organisation could not be efficient.

Further the fact that a large number of courtezans were officially attached to the forces must have contributed not a little to the inefficiency of the Hindu armies. Again, Barbosa says that the kings ordered the men to take their families with them under the idea " that men fight better if they have the responsibility of wives and children and household goods on them."[167] But this was a mistaken notion for really their presence in the battlefield could not have infused courage into the soldiers, but only have contributed much to their inefficiency. Disaster was sure to await an army which had a large number of women in its midst. It must be admitted however that the Hindus were not the only people who laboured under this disadvantage, for the Muhammadans also had similar disabilities.

The Navy : A few words may be said here about the Vijayanagar naval organisation. There was a naval department which worked perhaps under the guidance of the *Pradhāni* or more probably under the guidance of the Commander-in-Chief. And without

167. *Barbosa*, I, p. 225.

a navy, it would not have been possible to reduce parts of Ceylon and Burma to subjection, as they apparently were for some time.[168] But the Vijayanagar kings were so much occupied with their day-to-day internal administration that in ignorance of the broader issues of their national policy, they, like many other Hindu governments, failed to improve the naval organisation in the empire. The ease with which the Portuguese came into India, and the trouble they gave to the people, especially on the fishery coast of South India, were in a large measure due to the neglect of the fleet by the kings. Abdur Razāk of course mentions that there were three hundred ports in the empire,[169] which should have been active but these indicate only the commercial activity of the empire, and not its naval strength. Piracy was rampant on the seas; this the Vijayanagar kings could not check. This was all due to the want of a fully equipped naval force.

SECTION VII

Character of the Wars

In ancient India mere earth hunger was not the cause of wars. According to the ancient Hindu *Dharma* though wars might be waged with heavy losses of men and money on both sides, yet they were to be righteous ones. The peace-loving Brahmans and the contented peasants working in the fields were not to be molested. Megasthenes was very much pleased to see this state of affairs existing in North India during the time of his visit.

In the Vijayanagar court, "foreign conquest was a more fashionable theme than domestic finance."[170] Of course the old ideas about righteous warfare were remembered; but how far the theories were translated into actual practice is a question. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, however, not only laid down certain principles that must guide the kings in their war policy, but also acted up to them in certain respects.

168. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-2. Rice mentions an officer called *Nāviyadhaprabhu* and calls him the lord of the navy. The epigraph which mentions the officer reads as follows: *Srīman Nāviyada Prabhu Mangaļūru Nāga Gauḍara maga Śeṭṭi Udara.* It means only Śeṭṭi Udara, son of Mangaļūru Nāga Gauḍa the Prabhu of Nāviya. Here Nāviya appears to be the name of a place (*E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 468).

169. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 103.

170. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of Mysore*, I, p. 13.

In the war of 1366 waged between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, the Vijayanagar king " with a rancorous cruelty put men, women and children to the sword," and Muhammad Shāh the Bahmani Sultan committed the same excesses and did not spare even children at the breast.[171] In 1417 " the Hindus made a general massacre of the Mussalmans, erected a platform with their heads on the field of battle, and pursuing the king into his own country laid it waste with fire and sword." Sultan Ahmaḍ took vengeance on the Hindu king, invaded the Vijayanagar territory, massacred the people without mercy, and " whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event."[172] Rāma Rāja left no cruelty unpractised in the Muhammadan territories. He destroyed their mosques, insulted the honour of the Mussalman women, "and committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques and performing their abominable worship in the holy places ".[173] A recent writer in discussing the character of the wars in mediaeval India however says that "warfare in India was humane as contrasted with the horrors of war wrought by the foreigners in India.[174] But it must be noted that the high ideals found in the Śāstraic texts did not guide the actual policy of either the Vijayanagar kings or their Muhammadan neighbours.

But, as has already been said, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was an exception to the generality of rulers. He was disposed to treat the women of the enemies' harem that fell into his hands with regard. He says in his *Āmuktamālyada* : " Capture the territory as well as the fortresses of your enemies. If the harem of the enemy chances to fall in your hands see that they are looked after as if they were with their parents."[175] In the course of his wars against the Gajapati, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya made many captives among whom was the ' wife ' of the king of Orissa. But later, according to the terms of the treaty concluded between the two rulers, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya restored the "wife" to the Gajapati.[176]

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya had tender solicitude for the life of the non-combatants. Soon after the battle of Raicūr he was immensely

171. See Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 310 and 316-19.
172. *Ibid.*, pp. 390-91 and 402.
173. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 120-21, 239-43 and 331.
174. S. V. Venkatesvara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, II, p. 172.
175. Canto IV, v. 267.
176. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

grieved at the fact that many had been cruelly killed. He "out of compassion commanded the troops to retire, saying that numbers had died who did not deserve death nor were at all in fault; which order was at once obeyed by all the captains so that each one withdrew all his forces."[177] On the successful termination of the battle he made a general release of a large number of men, women and boys who had been taken prisoners in the course of the war; and gave permission to the residents of Raicūr to stay or leave the city; he also promised them that he would spare all their property, and punished his men when they robbed unclaimed property.[178]

Loss of life by eminent soldiers in battle was compensated for by large grants of lands to the families of the deceased. In 1379 one Malli, son of Malli Gauḍa, was granted a *kodage* in appreciation of the services rendered by him in fighting and dying in a battle.[179] In 1421 the family of one Rāya Nāyaka was granted some land in memory of his death in a war with the *nāyakas*.[180] An inscription of A.D. 1564 in the Yēlandūr taluk in the Mysore district records the grant of a charter to Cāmarasa Voḍeyār since his father Dēvappa Gauḍa was killed unjustly by Sanjar KHān by which he was granted a *rakta kodage* the Ganiganūr thala within the Hadināḍ country.[181] Distinguished service in the wars was rewarded by the award of military titles to the soldiers. A few of such titles are *Rāghuttamiṇḍāṉ*, *Araśamārttāṇḍaṉ*,[182] *Saṅgrāmadēva* and *Samaramuttiraṉ*.[183]

One point that deserves to be examined here is the way in which the Vijayanagar kings made arrangements for the administration of the conquered provinces. "Conquest is not an end in itself; victory is counterbalanced by responsibilities and acquisitions by the necessity of having to provide for safeguarding them." According to the principles of righteous warfare the conquered ruler was to be reinstated in his position, but as a subordinate of the conqueror whenever possible.

177. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-40.
178. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.
179. *M. A. R.*, 1924, No. 120.
180. *Ibid.*, 1923, No. 83.
181. *E. C.*, IV, Yl. 29.
182. 252 of 1928-29.
183. 247 of 1928-29.

The Śambuvarāya chief who was ruling over the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom, though defeated, was reinstated in his position, but as a subordinate chief of the Vijayanagar king. This is indicated by literary and epigraphical evidence. The *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*, and the *Rāmābhyudayam* say that the Śambuvarāya was reinstated in his position as king of Paḍaivīḍu after his defeat.[184] This is confirmed by an inscription at Māḍam in the North Arcot district which records that Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārayya Nāyaka, son of Sōmayya Daṇḍanāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Kampaṇa II, defeated and took captive Veṉṟumāṉ Śambuvarāya and captured Rājagambhīramalai.[185] But according to the *Madhurāvijayam* the Śambuvarāya chief was defeated and killed in single combat by Kampaṇa.[186] Evidently this is an exaggerated account by the royal poetess possibly to glorify the achievements of her lord.

From a few records of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya we are able to infer that after the conquest of Gaṅga Rāja, the Ummattūr chief, he restored the province to the family of the rebel governor.[187] But it would appear he retained the Terakanāmbi province which probably formed a part of Gaṅga Rāja's territories, and appointed Gōvinda Rāja, the brother of Sāḷuva Timma, as its governor.[188]

Section VIII

Foreign Policy

Any vast empire will have a large number of important problems to solve among which foreign policy is one; and that is generally of a complicated nature. The Vijayanagar empire was no exception to this. It had to pursue a vigorous and vigilant foreign policy calculated to strengthen its position. Hemmed in by the Muhammadans on the north, by the Gajapatis on the north-east, by the refractory feudatory vassals studded over the frontiers of the empire and by the Portuguese on the coastal regions on the west and east, the Vijayanagar kings had a difficult problem. Of course religious fanaticism and racial prejudice to some extent influenced their relations with the Muhammadans; but it must be

184. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 31-32.
185. 267 of 1919; *Rep.*, para 37.
186. *Madhurāvijayam*, *Intro.*, p. 5.
187. *E.C.*, III, Sr. 6; see also *Ibid.*, My. 5.
188. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 3 and 35; *E.C.*, III, Tn. 42 and 73.

said that the Vijayanagar kings did not fall below the standards set up by the kings of ancient India in their foreign policy.

One of the striking features of their policy was the maintenance of frontier governorships which were in the nature of Wardenships of the Marches and which were quite necessary in those days in view of the constant menace of foreign invasions into the Vijayanagar dominions and of rebellions fomented from abroad. Among such buffers were the kingdoms of Bengapor, Gasopa, Bacanor, Calecu, Batecala on the west and south, and a large number of others. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya gives certain concrete suggestions for the policy to be followed towards neighbouring states and their officers. He says: "If you think that the holder of foreign fortresses on your frontier can easily be worsted then it is fit to overcome him. If you do not think so the best course is to make friendship with him. Of what use is the holder of a foreign (enemy) fortress when the governor of your own fortress is your enemy? The fortress should be protected for his own sake".[189] Likewise the suggestions of the emperor with regard to the subjugation of the forest tribes are very practical and wise. In dealing with the semi-civilised and refractory tribes he wants their psychology to be taken into consideration. He says: "If the people of the forest (wild tribes) multiply in any state the trouble to the king would not be small. The king should make such people his own by destroying their fears. Because they are people of very little advancement, faith and want of faith, anger and friendship, bitter enmity and close friendship, result from insignificant causes . . . The wildest forest tribes can be brought under control by truthfulness (keeping one's engagements with them)."[190] In the Vijayanagar empire there were many such wild tribes as the Kurumbars, and in dealing with them the kings must have followed the principles laid down by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in his *Āmuktamālyada*. Military stations or cantonments (*Paḍaipaṟṟus*) were also established at important places to maintain order and peace in the empire.

The military organisation of the Vijayanagar kings was supplemented by an elaborate system of espionage. The practice of employing a secret service in the empire can be traced to very early times in Indian history; and most modern states find still much use for it. In Vijayanagar these secret agents travelled

189. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 286.
190. *Ibid.*, vv. 222 and 225.

everywhere and gathered information about the condition of the enemy states and carried news to the king. The *Āmuktamālyada* like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya says that kings should employ spies even in watching the actions of their ministers, lest they should get conceited and advise them to undertake unnecessary things.[191] That great value was attached to the information furnished by the spies is shown by the evidence of the same work where the author says: "Do not spurn an informer at the very outset; ponder over and over again what he says. If what he reported proves to be false then dispense with him, but see that he is in no way disgraced."[192] The spy was expected to reside in the capital, was to be conversant with languages, and acquainted with the spies of other countries, was to have no special marks; and he was to get from the king more money than he expected. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya clearly states that "others should not enter the profession."[193]

The employment of the spies in the wars of the period is testified to by many writers. The *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu* states that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya sent his spies to the kingdoms of his northern neighbours to get information about their movements, and they returned with valuable news about their activities.[194] According to the *Rāyavācakamu* the spies sent by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya brought news about the strength of the enemies and the atrocities committed in Kṛṣṇa's territory by them.[195] In describing the march of the Hindu forces Nuniz speaks of a few spies who were like scouts and had to spy out the country in front of the army and move at a distance of three or four leagues in front.[196]

It was customary in ancient and mediaeval India to announce the declaration of war to the neighbouring neutral states. The Vijayanagar rulers also followed this practice. This we are able to know from Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's war policy. According to Nuniz, he gave an account to the Muhammadan Sultans of the north as to what had taken place between himself and the Sultan of Bijapur and how he had determined to make war on him, to which he received replies from them approving of his conduct, and promising

191. Canto, IV, v. 265.
192. *Ibid.*, v. 220.
193. *Ibid.*, v. 279.
194. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 130.
195. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
196. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

him help as far as they could.[197] Nuniz himself examines the reason why Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya did so, and says: "The king had sent the letters out of his craftiness for he told them of what he was about to do in order to seduce them to his side—so far at least as concerned their good will, seeing that in the matter of troops he had no need of them because if they had joined the Ydalcão he (the king) would never have conquered as he did."[198]

Diplomatic agents were sent to foreign courts whenever necessity arose. They were appointed to carry on "particular business of a special nature" in the foreign courts. The system of accrediting ambassadors permanently from one court to another is of modern origin, and was unknown in mediaeval India.[199] The office of ambassador though temporary had grave responsibilities. The declaration and announcement of war and the conclusion of peace were all in the hands of these diplomatic agents.

These ambassadors were shown great respect wherever they went for they were the accredited representatives of their respective kings. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya truly says that "the friendship of an enemy king could be brought about by honouring and rewarding his ambassador."[200] Disrespect shown to him would lead to war. If Ferishta can be believed, when Muhammad Shāh sent an ambassador to the court of Bukka I "with a draft on the treasury of Vijayanagar," he was placed on an ass's back, paraded through all the quarters of the city and sent back with every mark of contempt and derision. This led to war.[201] But Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya generally followed his precept. He gave many gifts even to the messengers who brought the letters from the Sultan of Birar, Bidar and Golkonda in which they had threatened to join the Ādil Shāh of Bijapur to help him in recovering his lost territories unless Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya of his own accord restored them to him.[202] According to Kṛṣnadēva Rāya a frank talk was necessary with an ambassador, and he says: "A king should freely converse in his court with the ambassadors of kings of neighbouring states and speak to them about administration and wars so that his followers may understand his point."[203]

197. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-26.
198. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-26.
199. Cf. S. V. Viswanatha, *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 64.
200. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 225.
201. Scott, *Ferishta*, I, p. 23; Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
202. Sewell, *Op. cit.*, p. 349.
203. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 259.

The envoy was always a much respected person. The importance of that person rose with the importance of his mission. The Bijapur envoy for instance who had a very important message to deliver to the king of Vijayanagar "had with him all his people with their trumpets and drums as was customary".[204] He was also given some presents by the Hindu kings. When Abdur Razāk visited the court of Dēva Rāya II he was given several bags of *faṇams* and betel reserved for the king's use.[205]

The kings of Vijayanagar maintained friendly relations with foreign powers, and sent embassies to their courts. Their object in so doing was either to make acquaintance with them or to renew and strengthen old friendships. In 1374 Bukka I sent a friendly embassy through his chief explainer to the court of Taitsu, the Ming emperor of China, with tributes and large presents among which was a stone which had the property of neutralising poison.[206] But the purpose of the embassy is hard to find. Even the name of the envoy is difficult to identify. Abdur Razāk, the Persian ambassador, visited the Vijayanagar court in 1443. The treatment he received there clearly shows that those who had no letters of credence from their emperors were not shown great respect, though in his particular case he received great attention from the emperor, for he had requested him to come to his court from the court of the Sumeri of Calicut, to which court alone the ambassador had letters of credence. Hence a report that he was not the accredited ambassador of the Persian emperor was spread at Dēva Rāya's court.[207] Dēva Rāya II sent an embassy to Shāh Rukh, the emperor of Persia, with presents and stuffs including a letter in which he said: "It was our intention to commend myself to his sacred Majesty by royal presents and gifts, but certain parties represented that Abdur Razāk was not His Majesty's servant."[208]

It was the desire to secure the friendship of the Portuguese that made the kings of Vijayanagar send embassies to the court of their viceroys at Goa. To them their friendship was valuable for

204. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

205. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV; p. 120; for the presents of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the Bijāpūr envoy see Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

206. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 211; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 140.

207. See Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 112-13, 120 and 122.

208. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

two reasons. One was they could secure the monopoly of the trade in horses, and the other was their assistance in the wars with the Muhammadans. In 1511 Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya sent his ambassador to the Portuguese court " in order to establish a perpetual friendship with the king of Portugal." This was answered by a counter embassy from the king of Portugal who was also anxious to secure the friendship of Vijayanagar.[209] In 1601 Veṅkaṭa II sent his ambassadors to the court of Ayres de Saladana, the new Portuguese Viceroy. The reason for this embassy was the king's " desire to be the brother-in-arms (ally) of the king of Portugual," probably to strengthen his position against the possible designs of Akbar who entertained the idea of conquering South India.[210] It was again the same anxiety of the king to secure the friendship of the British that prompted him to send an embassy to the English traders at Masulipatam with a letter written upon a leaf of gold in which he wished to be excused for his former faults, and allowed them to build a house at Pulicat.[211]

209. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 384, quoted in Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I; p. 58.
210. Letter of Fr. Francesco Ricio to Fr. Claudio Aquaviva, dated Candragiri, October 20th, 1601. See Heras, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 582-83 and 435.
211. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, III, Floris, p. 336-37.

CHAPTER VI

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Section I

The Extent of the Empire

Vijayanagar, the last of the great Hindu empires in South India, was larger than any other that had flourished before except the empire of the Cōḻas from the time of Rāja Rāja I to that of Kulōttuṅga. In the days of Dēva Rāya II the empire had reached almost its zenith. It held sway over the whole of South India except certain portions on the west coast and the extreme north-eastern parts of the present Madras presidency. Discussing the extent of the empire under Dēva Rāya II, Abdur Razāk observes that it " extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulburga and from Bengal to Malibār, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*."[1]

In the north-west the empire had reached the limits of Goa even by A.D. 1391. A copy of a copper plate grant found in the archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon records the execution of a grant by the chief of Goa in A.D. 1391 in the name of " Vīrahariar " king of Vijayanagar, the suzerain.[2] A record in the Honavali taluk in the Shimoga district mentions one Vīra Vasanta Mādhavarāya as the *Govāpura varādhīśvara* (lord of the good city of Goa).[3] Thus even by 1391 Goa had been brought under the Vijayanagar sway. Kumāra Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka I, extended the frontiers of the Vijayanagar empire in the south. He defeated the Śambuvarāya, the ruler of the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom, exterminated the Sultanate of Madura further south, and added these territories to the Vijayanagar empire. In 1385 Virūpākṣa, the son of Harihara II, conquered the island of Ceylon and extended the empire over the whole of South India.[4] After the conquest of these portions of

1. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 105.
2. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 45, *fn.* 2. It was copied in A.D. 1532 and translated into Portuguese.
3. E.C., VII, Hn. 71.
4. See *E.I.*, III, pp. 224-230 ; H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 84-85.

South India, Madura was made the headquarters of a separate governorship; and the governor of this part of the empire came to be called 'Lord of the Southern Ocean'. The first governor who appeared with that designation was Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka who was the Prime Minister of Dēva Rāya II.[5] An inscription at Nagar in the Chingleput district credits Dēva Rāya with having levied tribute from Ceylon (*Īḻam tiṟai koṇḍa*).[6] Nuniz definitely states that Dēva Rāya II levied tribute not only from Ceylon but also from Coullão (Quilon), Puleacate (Pulicat), Peguu (Pegu), and Tennaçary (Tennasserim).[7] But the fortunes of the empire ebbed and flowed. When there were weak kings at the centre foreign rulers like the Gajapatis and the Bahmani Sultans made incursions into the Vijayanagar empire and took possession of big slices of it. During the period of the Sāḷuvas, the Gajapatis conquered a portion of the modern Nellore district, and Gaṅgarāja of Ummattūr revolted. Hence Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya applied himself to the task of reconquering many of the lost territories. Ummattūr was brought under his sway. The Gajapati was defeated, and by the treaty concluded subsequently with him the river Kṛṣṇā was made the boundary between the Vijayanagar dominions and the Gajapati kingdom. Raicūr, the bone of contention between the Hindu kings of the south and the Bahmani Sultans of the north, was taken. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya led an expedition even to the distant Ceylon.[8] The empire thus reached its farthest limit under him.

About the extent of the empire under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Paes says: "This kingdom of Narsymga has three hundred *graos* of coast each *grao* being a league, along the hill range (*serra*) .... until you arrive at Ballagate and Charamãodel (i.e., Cōḷamaṇḍala) which belong to this kingdom ; and in breadth it is one hundred and sixty-four *graos;* each large *grao* measures two of our leagues, so that it has six hundred leagues of coast, and across it three hundred and forty eight leagues . . . across from Batacalla (Bhatkal) to the kingdom of Orya (Orissa).

"And this kingdom marches with all the territory of Bengal, and on the other side with the kingdom of Orya, which is to the east, and on the other side to the north, with the kingdom of

5. 141 of 1903 ; 566 and 567 of 1904 ; *Rep.*, 1905, para 31.
6. 144 of 1916 ; *Rep.*, para 60.
7. Sewell, *op. cit.*, para 302
8. 146 of 1903; *Rep.*, 1904, para 23.

Dakhan, belonging to which are the lands which the Ydallcao (Ādil Shāh) has......".[9]

Under Acyuta too the empire was held intact. The rebellion of Tumbicci Nāyakaṉ of the Tiruvaḍi kingdom was put down. An inscription states that Acyuta took Ceylon.[10] Nuniz states that the rulers of Ceylon, Pegu and Tenasserim paid tribute to the emperor.[11] But in the north he seems to have lost a small portion of his empire. During the reign of Sadāśiva, the extent of the Vijayanagar empire was greater than before. Rāma Rāja exacted tribute at least from the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkoṇḍa. Even after the battle of Rakṣas Taṅgḍi the Vijayanagar empire did not dwindle in extent, though it suffered a set back.

Thus in the heyday of its glory the Vijayanagar empire comprised all India south of the river Kṛṣṇā. But in the west coast there were some small kingdoms which were independent of Vijayanagar. Barbosa says that on account of the high mountains which separated Malabar from the main territory, the Vijayanagar sovereigns could not conquer them.[12] Thus Calicut was independent of Vijayanagar, and in 1510 after the repulse of Albuquerque by the Zamorin of the place, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was induced to attack Calicut, for the Portuguese and the Zamorin were not very friendly.[13] Abdur Razāk too states that the Sumeri of Calicut was not a subordinate of Vijayanagar, but paid it respect and dreaded it because of its power.[14] The inclusion of Calicut by Nuniz as a tributary of Vijayanagar "cannot be considered as proving anything except ordinary diplomatic relations."[15]

Section II

The Divisions of the Empire

The Vijayanagar kings paid great attention to the administrative arrangement of their vast empire. For purposes of

9. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
10. 40 of 1897; see *M. E. R.*, 1900. *Rep.*, para 70.
11. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
12. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 198-99.
13. *Commentaries*, VI, p. 73.
14. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 103.
15. Sewell, *op cit.*, pp. 122 and 374; See *Barbosa*, I, p. 199, *fn.*

efficient administration they divided it into many provinces generally known as *rājyas* and sometimes vaguely as *maṇḍalas*. Even so early as in the days of Harihara I and Bukka, the divisions of the empire are mentioned in the inscriptions. On the eastern side of the empire was the Udayagiri rājya which included the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts.[16] A little to its west was the Penugoṇḍa rājya.[17] To the south of it was the Candragiri rājya.[18] Adjoining it was the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom which comprised portions of the modern North Arcot and Chingleput districts.[19] The Tiruvadi rājya which included portions of the South Arcot, North Arcot and Salem districts lay to the south of the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom.[20] Another division in the Vijayanagar empire was the Muḷuvāyi rājya which took its name from Mulbagal, its head-quarters and was during the Vijayanagar period generally the Viceregal seat of the government of the eldest son of the reigning king. It included portions of the modern districts of Kōlār, Salem, North Arcot and Chittore.[21] Parts of the modern Shimoga and South Canara districts constituted what was called Śāntalige 1,000.[22] A little above this was the province of Āraga with its capital at Candraguṭṭi or Guṭṭi and comprised a good portion of the modern districts of Shimoga and North Canara. The Tuḷuva country formed another province of the Vijayanagar empire, and had for its capital Mangalore.[23] Though these were the main divisions of the empire in the latter half of the fourteenth century, it is likely a few more were added to them with the rapid expansion and consolidation of the empire.

In their turn these provinces were divided into what we may call districts, taluks and villages. It is from the inscriptions that we learn of such divisions; but they refer to different divisions for different purposes, and since many of them are referred to in one and the same epigraph without any order or sequence, it is difficult to see what division is meant by a particular name. The divisions that are referred to in the inscriptions are *valanāḍu*, *kōṭṭam*, *paṭṭaka*, *viṣaya*, *nirvṛtti*, *venthe*, *nāḍu*, *śīme*, *kharvaṭam*,

16. *E.I.*, III, p. 24.
17. *E.C.*, X, Bg. 10.
18. *Ibid.*, Bg. 70.
19. 255 of 1909; *M.A.R.*, 1919, para 93; Cp. 7 of 1914-15.
20. 118 of 1897; 426 of 1909.
21. *E.C.*, X, *Intro.*, p. xxxiv; 196 of 1910; 324 of 1912.
22. *E.C.*, VII, Tl. 154.
23. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 237, *fn.* 7.

sthalam, parru, aimbadin mēlagaram, cāvaḍi, and so on. An epigraph mentions that a village, of Kunrattūr, was in Perumbākka-śīrmai in Tirukkaḷukkunrapparru in Mugandūrnāḍu, a subdivision of Āmūr kōṭṭam, a district of Paḍaivīḍu rājya in Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam,[24] while another mentions a few villages in the Muḍiyanūr parru in the Vaḷudilambaṭṭuccāvaḍi, a subdivision of Korukkai kūrram, a district of Meykunravaḷanāḍu in Magadaimaṇḍalam. The beginning of the inscription states that it was on the southern bank of the river Peṇṇār in the Tiruvadi rājyam in Magadai maṇḍalam.[25] According to an inscription at Upparapaḷḷi in the Cuddapah district, the Cennūri śīme and the Poṭḷadurti śīme are said to have been included in Mulikanāḍu, a subdivision of Gandikōṭa śīme, which formed part of the Udayagiri rājya.[26] Here we see a śīme within a śīme. An inscription in the Sidlaghaṭṭa taluk of the Kōlār district states that the village of Kamanahaḷḷi in the Aramaṇa sthala was situated in the Kōḷāla śīme which was attached to the Bēlūr cāvaḍi.[27] On the other hand the Kōḍambaḷḷi śīme is said to have belonged to Cannapaṭṇa in the Poyśaṇa nād.[28]

Thus the fact that these divisions are not mentioned in any order necessitates an examination of the question what each of them indicated. The first among such divisions which deserves some examination is the *maṇḍalam.* A few of the *maṇḍalams* are the Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam, Nigariliśōḷamaṇḍalam, Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Magadaimaṇḍalam and Cōḷamaṇḍalam. Originally political divisions under the Cōḷas, they continued to be so called in later times though they no longer constituted any regular political division. From the point of view of size, the *maṇḍalam* was bigger than a *rājya*, the regular division of the Vijayanagar empire. Though there are inscriptions which mention governors over these *rājyas*, there is not one epigraph in the Vijayanagar period which mentions a ruler or governor who was in charge of a *maṇḍalam.* The mention of a particular district or place as having been situated in a particular *maṇḍalam* was too conventional and old to have had any political significance in the Vijayanagar days; and in this connection it may be remarked that even in

24. 255 of 1909.
25. 66 of 1906.
26. 326 of 1905.
27. E.C., X, Sd. 15.
28. E.C., IX, Cn. 52.

the modern day in South India, these *maṇḍalams* are mentioned though they have absolutely no connection with the political divisions of the day.

Next to the *maṇḍalam* came the *rājya,* which was the biggest political division in the Vijayanagar empire. The division of the empire into *rājyas* depended more upon historical accidents and local peculiarities than any deliberate and scientific principle followed by the government. The Paḍaivīḍu kingdom which was taken from the Śambuvarāya chief was retained as a province by the Vijayanagar emperors. After the conquest of the Madura Sultanate, Madura was made the headquarters of a new governorship. The Tiruvadi rājya which had grown out of the ashes of the Cōḷa empire was made a province. Such divisions which were formed on the basis of historical accidents could not have been of equal dimensions. When the *rājya* was large in size or was of special importance owing to some reason or other, it was perhaps called a *mahārājya.* Candragiri, Paḍaivīḍu and Āraga were *mahārājyas.*[29] The *mahārājya* and *rājya* can be compared to the major and minor provinces into which British India at the present day is divided. In the Kanarese districts a division called the *pīṭhika* (throne) appears to have existed. If a surmise is possible we can say the *rājya* was also known by that name.[30] It appears the number of *rājyas* within the empire varied from time to time. Some of them seem to have been created as the exigencies of the administration required. Similarly some of them were reduced in importance. Thus for instance Guṭṭi, which was a *rājya* in the early years of Kṛṣṇarāya's reign,[31] is mentioned as a subdivision of Penugoṇḍa rājya in A.D. 1529.[32]

In the Tamil districts the *rājya* was in its turn divided into districts called *kōṭṭams,* at times also known as *kūṟṟams.* But in certain parts of the empire above the *kūṟṟam* was a division called a *vaḷanāḍu.*[33] The *kōṭṭam* was divided into *nāḍus* which can

29. *E.I.*, III, p. 119; *ibid.*, XIV, p. 313; *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 206.
30. *E.C.*, X, Sd. 94.
31. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 802; *E.C.*, XII, Mi. 64.
32. 332 of 1926.
33. Saletore doubts if the term *vaḷanāḍu* was used outside the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (*Soc. and Pol. Life*, I, p. 295, *fn.* 7). But that it was in vogue in other parts of the empire is indicated by a few inscriptions. One of them states that it was a division in the Magadaimaṇḍalam also (66 of 1906; 740 of 1909), and another mentions the Rājēndrasōḷavaḷanāḍu in the Nigarilisōḷamaṇḍalam (*E.C.*, IX, Bg. 59). Saletore also thinks that the *vaḷanāḍu* was

be compared to the modern taluks. Rural parts in such *nāḍus* seem to have been called *paṟṟus*. But the exact connotation of the term is not clear, for it seems to have been used in different senses. According to an inscription at Tirumalai, the village of Śambukulapperumāḷ Agrahāram or Rājagambhīrā caturvēdimaṅgalam was situated in Murumaṅgaḷapaṟṟu in Maṇḍaikuḷanāḍu in Palakuṉṟakōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻamaṇḍalam,[34] while according to another epigraph a particular caturvēdimaṅgalam is said to have been situated in a *nāḍu* which was in a *paṟṟu* or district that formed a division of a *kōṭṭam* in the same Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻamaṇḍalam.[35] Thus, according to one inscription, below a *nāḍu*, the division of a *kōṭṭam*, there was one division called the *paṟṟu*, while according to another the *paṟṟu* was a division bigger than a *nāḍu* and smaller than a *kōṭṭam*. This inconsistency in the order of these divisions makes us suspect if by the term *paṟṟu* any political division was meant. *Paṟṟu* may simply mean a rural area or a portion of a particular area which might have been made up of many villages.

The *nāḍus* were divided into *aimbadiṉ mēlagarams* or units of fifty villages. Every such unit had a chief village; for example Vaḻudilambaṭṭu-uśāvaḍi was the chief place in a division of fifty villages.[36] Below this came the *agarams* or *maṅgalams* which constituted smaller administrative units. To each of these units were attached a few villages which were called *piḍāgai* in the Tamil districts.

A large number of villages in the Tamil districts are known by the name *taṉiyūr*. Kāvēripākkam, otherwise known as Vikramaśōḻacaturvēdimaṅgalam, in the present North Arcot district, was a *taṉiyūr* in the Paḍuvūr kōṭṭam.[37] Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot district was a *taṉiyūr* in the Vavalūr nāḍu,[38] while Uttaramērūr *alias* Rājēndraśōḻacaturvēdimaṅgalam was a *taṉiyūr*

a smaller division than a *kōṭṭam*. But though there are a few inscriptions which mention that a *vaḷanāḍu* was a part of a *kōṭṭam* (*E.I.*, III, p. 119), yet there are still others which mention the *kōṭṭam* as a division of a *vaḷanāḍu* (see 740 of 1909; 66 of 1906). To add to the difficulty an epigraph says that a *kōṭṭam* and a *vaḷanāḍu* indicated the same division (319 of 1911). Hence it is difficult to decide its relation with the *kōṭṭam* from the point of view of size.

34. 87 of 1887; see also 740 of 1909.
35. 319 of 1911.
36. 73 of 1888.
37. 386 of 1905.
38. 68 of 1922.

in the Kaliyūr kōṭṭam of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The exact meaning of the term is hard to find. It seems to have been an independent administrative unit for political purposes, and its status must have been at least equal to that of any large subdivision in the empire. That such could have been the position of the *taṉiyūr* in those days is not difficult to comprehend when we see for instance in the modern day that a city like Madras has got an independent status at least equal to that of a district on account of its population and importance. The *taṉiyūr* might have had a local treasury and can be compared to a modern *kaspā*.

Turning to the Karnāṭaka districts we get reference to a larger number of subdivisions of the empire. We find new names denoting new divisions. As in the Tamil districts, there were *rājyas* in the Karnāṭaka districts. Sometimes they were called *pīṭhikas* or thrones. According to an inscription in the Sidlaghaṭṭa taluk of the Kōlār district there was one Śaḍali pīṭhika which included the Mukkuṇḍa venṭhe.[39]

The next important division was the *venṭhe* variously known as *viṣaya* and *nirvṛtti*.[40] It seems to have taken the place of the *kōṭṭam* of the Tamil inscriptions. These districts were divided into *śīmes*. For instance Tekkallapāḍu is said to have been in the Addaṅka-śīme of the Kamma viṣaya.[41]

Next to the *śīme* came the *sthala* which was made up of a few villages. A record of A.D. 1589 in the Hiriyūr taluk of the Chitaldrug district mentions a few *sthalas* and the number of villages each of them contained. The following is the list given in it : [42]

Hiriyūr	sthala	53	villages	Lakkihaḷḷi	sthala	7	villages
Begganāḍu	„	11	„	Basapaṭṭaṇa	„	14	„
Hośūr	„	21	„	Aralihaḷḷi	„	3	„
Gavuḍanahaḷḷi	„	10	„	Tavanidhihaḷḷi	„	12	„
Kurubarahaḷḷi	„	13	„	Bukkapaṭṭaṇa	„	26	„
				Ikkanūr	„	11	„

39. E.C., X, Sd. 94.

40. E.C., VIII, Tl. 9; 186 of 1897; E.I., XIII, p. 11; E.I., III, p. 229; E.C., X, Bg. 70. Though we may doubt the accuracy of the historical details contained in the inscriptions, it is possible that such terms as these were in use in those days. But according to the Madras Museum Plates of Śrīgiri Bhūpāla, a *nirvṛtti* was a larger division than a *kōṭṭam* (see E.I., VIII, p. 315).

41. E.I., XIII, p. 11.

42. E.C., XI, Hr. 88.

Thus there does not seem to have been any definite rule regarding the number of villages that should be in a *sthala.* Some inscriptions mention a *sthala* and a *śīme* of the same name. An epigraph in the Dōd Ballapūr taluk of the Bangalore district mentions for instance the Tippūr śīme and the Tippūr sthala.[43] Here it would appear that Tippūr not only lent its name to a bigger administrative division but also to a smaller one, as in the modern day Chingleput not only constitutes a district but also a taluk, a smaller unit. It appears that the *sthala* came to be called later by the name *sammat* or *samuta.*[44] Under the Aravīḍu rulers there appears another division called the *hobaḷi* which was made up of a few villages; and perhaps this was a division that took the place of the *sthala* and the *sammat.*[45]

In certain parts of the Kanarese districts a division called the *kampaṇa* took the place of the *sthala.* Where such a division was made the province was divided into eighteen districts or *kampaṇas* as in the case of the Goa-Guṭṭi (Candragiri) kingdom.[46]

The *sthalas* seem to have been subdivided into *nāḍukas* and *vaḷitas*, or *vaṇitas* or *vantyas.* The Daḷavāy Agrahāram plates mention that Gaṅgavarapaṭṭi was included in the Hastināvati vaḷita and was situated in the Neduṅgula nāḍuka in the Ālaṅguḷa sthala which belonged to the Dhārāpura vantya.[47] But this order is reversed in a few cases. According to an inscription Kurugōḍaśīme was a subdivision of the Muganāḍu venṭhe which was a part of Hastināvati vaḷita.[48] The reason for this change of order is hard to find; and hence the difficulty in finding out the exact nature of the division.

43. E.C., IX, Db. 42.

44. E.C., III, Nj. 10; XI, Hr. 36.

45. E.C., X, Mr. 57.

46. E.C., VII, Sk. 282; E.C., VIII, Sb. 51. Regarding the *kampaṇa* Fleet says: "*Kampaṇa* is a convertible term with 'bāḍa' in its second meaning of a circle of towns constituting an administrative post . . . 'bāḍa' is a *tadbhava* corruption of the Sanskrit '*vāṭa*', an enclosure of a town or village, fence, wall, hedge, etc. . . . *Kampaṇa* is probably another form of the Canarese *Kampala, Kampilu*, a cluster, heap, assemblage, multitude, etc." (*Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 211 *fn.* and p. 329 *fn.*)

47. E.I., XII, p. 187.

48. 212 of 1913; see Cp. 1 of 1914-15 for another reference to the *vaḷita.*

We meet with a few other names of divisions in the empire. The *māgaṇi* or the *puramāgaṇi* was one. We hear for instance of the Śāntalige māgaṇi in the Āraga kingdom.[49] But it appears to be a general term and carries no special significance with it; the estate given to an *amara nāyaka* could have been called an *amara māgaṇi.* Another division seems to have been known by the name of *mārjavāḍa.* An inscription at Rayacōṭa in the Cuddapah district mentions the *mārjavāḍas* of Penugoṇḍa and Udayagiri.[50] *Mārjavāḍa* is an abridged form of *mahārājavāḍi*, a district comprising the whole of the present Rāyalaśīma. The name of the district survived. In Vijayanagar times, the territory included in the old *mahārājavāḍi* fell under two *rājyas*, Penugoṇḍa and Udayagiri; hence they are occasionally referred to as Penugoṇḍa mārjavāḍi and Udayagiri mārjavāḍi. The term *kharvaṭa* indicated another division. Lüders thinks that it was the name of a market town.[51]

In certain places military and police considerations were taken into account in making the divisions of the empire. A strong fort for instance was made the nucleus of a division. It had some territory attached to it, was presided over by a *durgadaṇḍanāyaka* and the territory under him constituted a division for political purposes. In the Bangalore taḷuk, for instance, we have reference to the kingdom of the Kaṇḍanūr durga.[52] Then again we hear of the Udayagiri durgam to which a few villages were attached.[53] These were perhaps analogous to the *paḍaippaṟṟus* or cantonments.

In the inscriptions there occurs the term *cāvaḍi.* The term literally means a " hall " or an office. To the *cāvaḍi* a number of villages were attached, and at times even *sthalas* and *śīmes* were attached to it. For example, the Timmasamudra village was attached to Teppada Nāgaṇṇa's *Gaḍi cāvaḍi.*[54] Tiruśivamattūr sthala belonged to the Kōlāla cāvaḍi.[55] An inscription dated A.D. 1428-9 mentions Sunepuhanalūr in the Mēlmuri of Malanāḍu as a subdivision of the Rājarājaśōḷanāḍu which belonged to the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi rājya or cāvaḍi.[56]

49. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 206.
50. 444 of 1911.
51. *E.I.*, VI, p. 232, *fn.* 9.
52. *E.C.*, IX, Cn. 150.
53. 205 of 1892.
54. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 252.
55. E.C., IX, Ht. 121.
56. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 111. For a few other references for the *cāvaḍi*, see *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 350.

In the inscriptions from the Mysore State, we find mention of a few territorial divisions as the

Gaṅgavāḍi	..	96,000
Banavāsi	..	12,000
Kalaśa	..	3,000 or 1,000
Śāntalige	..	1,000

and some others. It is difficult to find out the meaning of these numerical appellations. There were no administrative subdivisions of this type during Vijayanagar times. They were survivals of the past. Their mention in the Vijayanagar inscriptions must be attributed to the conservatism of the people.

SECTION III

Provincial Organisation

1. *Provincial Governors*: The part of the empire directly under the imperial sway was divided into provinces over each of which there was appointed a viceroy. Members of the royal family were generally appointed as the governors of these provinces. During the time of Harihara I, Mārappa was the ruler of the province of Āraga with its capital at Candraguṭṭi.[57] Kampaṇa I was the ruler of the Udayagiri rājya.[58] Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka, was ruling over the Muḷuvāgil kingdom (Mulbagal).[59] Virūpākṣa, the son of Harihara II, is said to have been in charge of the Tuṇḍīra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries and even conquered Ceylon,[60] while his brother Dēva Rāya was the governor of Udayagiri before he ascended the throne.[61] He was succeeded by his son Rāmacandra Oḍeya who is said to have subjugated hostile kings and by his skill vanquished the Mussalmans.[62] Vīra Vijaya Rāya, another son of Dēva Rāya, was ruling the Muḷuvāgil kingdom,[63] and when he became the emperor he was succeeded by his son

57. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.
58. *Nel. Ins.*, II, Nl. 28.
59. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 162 and 222.
60. *E.I.*, III, pp. 227 and 228.
61. *Nel. Ins.*, II, Kn. 23.
62. *Ibid.*, Cp. 1.
63. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 175.

Śrīgiri in the viceroyalty.[64] This practice of appointing princes of the royal house as viceroys of the provinces was followed even by the Aravīḍu kings. Tirumala appointed his son Śrī Raṅga II as the viceroy of the home province, Penukoṇḍa. Formerly he had served as the viceroy of the Udayagiri rājya wherefrom he conquered Koṇḍavīḍu, Vinikoṇḍapura and other forts.[65] Rāma, another son of the emperor Tirumala, was the viceroy over the Seringapatam country.[66] Veṅkaṭa II, the fourth son of Tirumala, was governing the Tamil country with his headquarters at Candragiri with many feudatories under him.[67] The practice of the Sāḷuvas and the Tuḷuvas appears, however, to have been different. They did not appoint royal princes as governors of provinces for which two explanations are possible. The members of the royal family at a particular time were only a few, for Sāḷuva Narasiṁha had only two sons while Narasā Nāyaka had four. Even among these there was great rivalry and palace intrigue, and hence the ruling emperor did not trust the other members of the royal family with the governorships. The princes of the first Vijayanagar dynasty who were sent out as rulers of provinces assumed the title of *Ōḍeya* or *Uḍaiyār* (in Tamil).

But where it was thought desirable that some eminent officer with wide experience could fill the post with credit and to the advantage of the central government, such an officer was appointed as governor of the province. The governors thus appointed were generally known as the *Daṇḍanāyakas*. In their constitutional status and in their relations with the imperial house, their position appears to have been similar to that of the princes who served as provincial viceroys.

The governors of the provinces of the empire enjoyed some sort of local autonomy within their jurisdiction. They held their own courts, had their own officers, maintained their own armies and ruled their territories without being interfered with by the central authority so long as they regularly discharged their obligations to the imperial sovereign. These provincial governors, if they were members of the royal family, assumed the imperial titles belonging to their respective dynasties. In a few cases succession was hereditary in their families. Kampaṇa I, the brother

64. *E.C.*, X, Bp. 15.
65. *E.I.*, XII, pp. 173 and 186, Daḷavāy Agrahāram Plates, vv. 23 to 26.
66. 43 of 1915; *E.C.*, Yl. 16; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 221.
67. S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*, p. 302.

of Harihara I, who was the lord of the Udayagiri rājya, was on his death succeeded to the governor's throne by his son Saṅgama II, and in his capacity as the viceroy of the Udayagiri province, he made the Bitraguṇṭa grant.[68] These governors, whether they were princes of the royal blood or imperial officers who were assigned provinces for governing, were transferred from one province to another as exigencies demanded. Virūpaṇṇa or Virūpākṣa I, a son of Bukka, was the governor of the Āraga province. We have a few inscriptions of his belonging to the years 1362, 1367 and 1379.[69] In one inscription he is called Uddagiri Virūpaṇṇa or Udayagiri Virūpaṇṇa which indicates that he was formerly the viceroy over the Udayagiri rājya.[70] Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka for instance was the governor of the Mulbāgal and Tēkal provinces in 1430.[71] He continued there for two years[72] after which he was transferred to the Tuṇḍīra province over which he ruled till about 1440 with the title 'Lord of the Southern Ocean'. In A.D. 1438 we see him making a grant from the Tiruppattūr taluk of the Ramnad district.[73] In 1440 we see him in the Bārakūru rājya which shows that he was transferred to that province about that time.[74] Later he seems to have been transferred again to the Madura province over which he ruled with the title "Lord of the Southern Ocean."[75] However there does not seem to have been any time limit for a governorship, for it depended not only upon the ability of the governor but also on the local necessities. Uddagiri Virūpaṇṇa for instance was governor of the Āraga province for nearly eighteen years,[76] while Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka served as viceroy in different provinces for shorter terms.

Generally the governors appear to have been appointed by the king in consultation with his ministers. Thus when Mādhavamantrin, the governor of the Banavāse province, died in 1391, Harihara II deliberated with his ministers as to who could be sent to the Banavāse province to succeed the deceased governor, and

68. *E.I.*, III, p. 21.
69. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 20, Ng. 34 and Tl. 114.
70. *Ibid.*, Tl. 37.
71. *E.C.*, X, Bp. 72.
72. *Ibid.*, Mr. 3 and 1.
73. 141 of 1903.
74. 128 of 1901.
75. 100 of 1911.
76. *E.C.*, VIII, *Intro.*, p. xii.

finally decided that one Naraharimantrin, a disciple of Vidyāśaṅkara, must be sent as the governor of the province.[77]

The order conveying these appointments bore the royal seal. A Kanarese inscription of Mallikārjuna Mahārāya of A.D. 1465-66 refers to one Rāmacandra Daṇṇāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāna* of the king, as administering the kingdom under royal seal.[78] The governors had their own Councils which were probably modelled on that of the emperor. From the inscriptions of the period we may surmise that these Councils consisted of the *Pradhāni*,[79] the *Ōlai* (secretary),[80] the *Daḷavāy* or the *Daṇḍanāyaka* as he was called in a few inscriptions,[81] the treasurer,[82] the *Sāmantādhikāri*,[83] and a few others. In all probability these ministers were chosen and appointed by the respective governors themselves, with the approval of the imperial authority. A few of these ministers rose to be very able administrators. Mādhavamantrin, the minister of Mārappa, was very efficient, and was to Mārappa what Bhārgava was to Śaṅkara, and he was "a pilot" to his lord "floating in the ocean of the kingdom".[84] Similarly Sōmappa Daṇḍanāyaka and Gōpaṇṇa Uḍaiyar were two outstanding personalities that helped Kumāra Kampaṇa in his arduous task of bringing South India up to Madura under the Vijayanagar rule.

The provincial viceroys were given the right to issue their own coins independently of the central government. Cæsar Frederick was very much struck by this system and he remarks: "When we came into a new governor's territory as every day we did, although they were all tributarie to the king of Bizeneger, yet everyone of them stamped a small coyne of copper, so that the money we took this day would not serve the next day."[85] Inscriptional evidence corroborates this statement of the foreign observer. A few *gadyānas* were issued from the provincial seats of Bārakūr and Maṅgaḷūr; and Krishna Śāstri concluded from this fact that the provincial viceroys were empowered to issue coins in their own

77. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 115.
78. 376 of 1927-28.
79. 309 of 1912.
80. *I.P.S.*, 707.
81. *Ibid.*
82. 309 of 1912.
83. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 58.
84. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.
85. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 99.

names.[86] Similarly we have evidence of Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the viceroy under Dēva Rāya II, issuing coins in his own name. A copper coin of his has an elephant on the reverse and a letter 'L' above it, and the obverse bears the legend '*maṇa*', '*daṇāya*', '*karu*' which probably stands for the name of Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka.[87] The provincial governors themselves had the power to grant to private individuals the right of issuing coins and owning private mints (*taṅka*).[88] The governors enjoyed the right to impose new taxes or remit old ones. Since they were generally held responsible only for a fixed contribution of money to the imperial house they were not interfered with in the minuter details of the incidence of taxation and the manner of collection of the taxes. Thus Cikka Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār gave a charter to the officials and Kaikkōḷas of Haṭṭalakōṭe making certain regulations with regard to the payment of taxes and remitting the fines imposed on the Kaikkōḷas.[89] But it appears that the provincial ministers could not make grants or remit or impose taxes except with the permission of the governor of the province. Thus Viṭṭappar, an officer under Vīra Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, made a gift of the village of Māḍambākkam to the local temple after getting the sanction of the governor.[90] But there are a few inscriptions which indicate that certain officers of government remitted the taxes without getting the necessary permission from the governor. Gōppanaṅgaḷ, an officer under Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, remitted the taxes on the lands of Kulōttuṅgaśōḻanallūr *alias* Brahmīśvara which was a unit village.[91] The *Mahāpradhāni* Sōmappa Uḍaiyār and the treasurer Viṭṭappayyaṉ, the two officers under the same Kampaṇa, issued an order to Mēydēvar who was in charge of the taxes of Pulināḍ to assign certain duties imposed in kind on all the articles that passed through his district for the benefit of the Viṣṇu temple at Kumari.[92] But from the above two cases it would appear that these officers made the grants not by any inherent right they enjoyed by virtue of the office they held under the government, but they were themselves in charge of certain districts under the provincial government, the

86. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, pp. 237-38.
87. *M.E.R.*, 1905, para 31; see also Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, plate III, No. 92 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 304.
88. *M.A.R.*, 1929, para 90.
89. *E.C.*, IV, Ch. 97.
90. 324 of 1911.
91. 184 of 1918.
92. 309 of 1912.

income from which were assigned to them by the provincial governor as remuneration for the office they held under him. It was in the capacity of district chiefs that the ministers of the provincial governors remitted taxes or made gifts independently. Their grants, unless they were made with the permission of the governor, could not have applied to the whole province. The benefit of such grants was restricted to the district which they held under the provincial governor.

However, whenever the people were oppressed by the provincial viceroys, the imperial government interfered on behalf of the people. Before the time of Dēva Rāya II, for instance, the ministers had been taking presents by force from all ryots belonging to both the Right hand and Left hand classes at the commencement of each reign. In consequence of this all the ryots were harassed and hence they migrated to other places. Worship and festivals ceased in temples; the country was stricken with disease; the few people that remained either died or suffered. The king therefore interfered and prohibited such extortion.[93] Thus the imperial government interfered with the local governments when there was mal-administration or oppression on the part of the local governors. Here it is said that the ministers oppressed the people. We have to take that the term ministers means officers for the ministers of the Imperial Council were generally provincial governors as well.

Nuniz says that the provincial governors had to pay the king their revenues as fixed by him annually during the first nine days of the month of September.[94] What this means we have seen in an earlier section, where it has been suggested that though remittances were made every month, the assessment was made in September.[95]

The provincial governors were also made responsible for the maintenance of law and order within their jurisdiction; whenever the property of their subjects was stolen, they were bound to catch the thief and restore the stolen property to the owner. Otherwise they were severely punished by the king.[96]

93. *M.E.R.*, 1905, Pt. II, para 30.
94. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
95. See *ante*, p. 91.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

The governors were entitled to certain honours. They were allowed to use litters and palanquins, as is indicated by the evidence of Nuniz.[97] The inscriptions of the period also refer to a few of the honours which they received from the king. A record in the Goribidnūr taluk of the Kōlār district says that the Vijayanagar emperor (Mallikārjuna ?) conferred on a few of his feudatories the following honours : horse, umbrella, *cāmara, bhūmipeṇḍe* and three *howdah* elephants.[98] Similarly Nandēla Appa, the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu, was given the right to use a palanquin and two *cauris.*[99]

A few of the governors of provinces were appointed to some important posts in the imperial service. Some of the ministers of the king are said to have been the governors over some province or other. For instance Mādhava mantri, the minister of Bukka I (formerly the minister of Mārappa while he was the viceroy over the Kadamba country and the Banavāse 12,000), "accepted the government (of the province) as far as the Western Ocean,"[100] by order of Vīra Bukka Bhūpati. From an inscription in the Tīrthahaḷḷi taluk of the Shimoga district which mentions that Mādhavamantri, the house-minister of Harihara II, was the governor of the western parts including Āraga of the Vijayanagar dominions, we are led to infer that he was ruling that province up to 1384, the date of the inscription.[101] Nāgaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāna* of Dēva Rāya I, was the governor of the Muḷuvāgil kingdom.[102] Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the Prime Minister of Dēva Rāya II, served as a governor in various provinces. About 1430 he was the governor of the Mulbāgal and the Tēkal provinces.[103] Later he was the governor of the southern part of the empire and was known by the designation "Lord of the Southern Ocean".[104] Timmaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Mallikārjuna Rāya, was the governor of the Nāgamaṅgala division of the empire.[105] Sāḷuva

97. *Ibid.*, p. 389.
98. *E.C.*, X, Gd. 22 ; The inscription is of doubtful authenticity. Yet the fact that certain customary honours were shown to the provincial governors cannot be false.
99. 257 of 1892 ; *E.I.*, VI, p. 112.
100. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281.
101. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 147.
102. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 7.
103. *E.C.*, X, Bp. 72.
104. 100 of 1911.
105. *E.C.*, III, Sm. 89.

Timma, the Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Raya, was made the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu after its capture.[106] Koṇḍamarasayya, the *Rāyasam* of the king, was the governor of Udayagiri.[107] Salvanayque of Nuniz known to the inscriptions as Sāḷuva Vīra Narasiṁha Nāyaka or Sāḷuva Daṇḍanāyaka was for some time ruling over the Tiruvadi rājya and according to the account of Nuniz he was the lord of Charamaodel, Negapatam, Tanjore, Bhuvanagiri, Devipatnam, Tirukoil (Tirukkōyilūr) Kayal and other territories bordering on Ceylon.[108] Thus instances can be multiplied to show that some of the imperial officers were also provincial governors; and they governed their provinces through their deputies, who were called *Kāryakartas*.

Nuniz gives the following account of a few provincial governors, their income and their military and financial obligations to the imperial government:

Name of the Governor.	*Income in Pardaos of gold.*	*Military Contribution.*	*Financial Contribution.*
Salvanayque, the Prime Minister of Acyuta Rāya	11,00000	30,000 foot 3,000 horse 30 elephants	1/3
Ajaparcatimapa, lord of Udayagiri, etc.	800,000	25,000 foot 1,500 horse 40 elephants	3/8
Gapanayque, lord of Rosyl	600,000	20,000 foot 2,500 horse 20 elephants	1/4
Lepanayque, lord of Vingapor.	300,000	20,000 foot 1,200 horse 28 elephants	4/15
Narvara, lord of Ondegema	400,000	12,000 foot 600 horse 20 elephants	1/2
Cinapanayque, lord of the land of Calay	300,000	10,000 foot 800 horse	1/3

106. *E.I.*, VI, p. 110.
107. *Nel. Ins.*, III, App. I, p. 1476.
108. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

Name of the Governor.	*Income in Pardaos of gold.*	*Military Contribution.*	*Financial Contribution.*
Crisnapanayque, lord of Aosel	20,000	700 foot 500 horse	7/20
Bajapanayque, lord of Bodial	300,000	10,000 foot 800 horse 15 elephants	1/30
Mallapanayque, lord of the country of Avaly, etc.	15,000	6,000 foot 400 horse	1/3
Adapanayque, lord of the country of gate	300,000	8,000 foot 800 horse 30 elephants	2/15
Bajapanayque, lord of Mumdoguel	400,000	10,000 foot 1,000 horse 50 elephants	3/8[109]

Though we get these valuable details with regard to the contributions demanded of some of the provincial governors by Acyuta Rāya, we are not able to see the exact principle on which these demands were made from them. An examination of the contributions demanded of the few governors above referred to shows that they differed widely. Adapanayque, who got an income of 300,000 *pardaos*, was expected to maintain for the imperial house a certain proportion of foot, horse and elephants and contribute 2/15 of his income, while Lepanayque who got the same income was not only required to maintain a larger proportion of foot, horse and an almost equal number of elephants but also to contribute 4/15 of his income to the imperial treasury. However one explanation is possible for such enormous disproportions. Since many of the governors of provinces held some office with the government, the demand made from them must be such as would leave for them a certain amount of money after meeting their obligations to the government which would be the pay for their services to the government. Adapanayque for instance was the chief counsellor of the king, while Lepanayque held no such office under the government. In such a case the larger demand made by the state from the latter was quite legitimate, for even after paying the fixed contribution there was still left something for him towards his remu-

109. *Ibid.*, pp. 384-89.

neration as governor. But Adapanayque was an officer at the imperial headquarters, and besides he was the governor of a province. If he had attended to his office work at the capital, he could not have ruled his province himself but only by his deputy in which case he must have paid him. Thus he had two functions to discharge. Though he was assigned a province the income from which he was to enjoy after making his contributions to the central government, yet since he had to govern it only through his deputy whom he had to pay, some concession had to be shown to him in the matter of his contribution to the imperial house. Thus there was bound to be some difference between the demands made by the government from a provincial governor who had no office at the capital and from one who held such office.

These governors including those that held some office at the imperial headquarters, each maintained an agent at the capital. This officer is called by Nuniz 'Secretary'. He says that the 'Secretary' was always at the court and that he kept his master informed of what was taking place in the palace, for nothing took place there of which they did not soon know.[110]

A few words may be said here about the influence of certain families over the royal house. A few of the provincial governors who held some office or other with the imperial government often wielded great influence over the royal house which at times had certain serious consequences. The Saṅgama brothers who were themselves influential feudatories under the Hoyśālas, gradually rose to power and position and finally overthrew the royal house to their own advantage. Under the weak rulers, Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha developed his ambition of usurping all royal authority, and finally achieved his object by making himself the founder of the second line of the Vijayanagar emperors. During the rule of his weak son Immaḍi Narasiṁha, Narasā Nāyaka rose to a position of eminence and power, and finally his son was able to see through a "bloodless revolution" at Vijayanagar. The influence and power of the Salaka brothers during the reign of Acyuta Rāya, were responsible for the many palace intrigues at the Vijayanagar capital. The influence wielded by Rāma Rāja and his brothers at the court of Sadāśiva is too well known to need recapitulation here. The inefficient Sadāśiva was a poor prisoner in the hands of Rāma Rāja and was shown to the public only once in a year. During the period of his power, Rāma Rāja dominated

110. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

the politics of Vijayanagar and made his Muhammadan neighbours on the north prostrate before him. However it must be said that the governors could not trifle with strong kings. Sāḷuva Timma in spite of his ability and power was kept under great check by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. On the mere suspicion of his complicity in the murder of his son Tirumala, he was blinded, and imprisoned and his family also was ruined. Thus under strong kings they were submissive; but under weak ones they rose to great power, influence and eminence.

2. *The Nāyaṅkara System*: (Another important feature of the Vijayanagar provincial organisation was the *nāyaṅkara* system. According to this system the king was considered to be the owner of the soil and he distributed the lands to his dependents. In mediaeval India services to the ruling sovereign were rewarded by the grant of territories. Thus when a northerner imposed his rule over the southerner, he had to arm himself with a body of people who were ever ready to serve him in his wars, and for this they were granted lands. Those who held land from the king were called *nāyakas* though the term was later used to denote a variety of offices and castes. They ruled over their territories with great freedom. In return for the grant of territory that was made to them they had two functions to discharge. Firstly they had to pay a fixed annual financial contribution to the imperial exchequer which, according to the account of Nuniz, was generally half of their revenue. Secondly they were required to maintain for the king a sufficient number of troops, and serve him in his wars. About Acyuta Rāya and his *nāyakas* Nuniz says: "This King Citarao has foot-soldiers paid by his nobles and they are obliged to maintain six *lakhs* of soldiers, that is six hundred thousand men, and twenty-four thousand horse, which the same nobles are obliged to have. These nobles are like renters who hold all the land from the King, and besides keeping all these people they have to pay their cost; they also pay him every year sixty *lakhs* of rents as royal dues. The lands they say yield a hundred and twenty *lakhs* of which they say they must pay sixty to the king, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain."[111] Paes also gives the same details. It was the king that fixed the number of troops and the amount of money each of these *nāyakas* was to keep, and they were generally in proportion to the revenue

111. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

each derived.[112] They were the guardians of the peace within their jurisdiction, and were held responsible for the detection of crimes as well; they were bound to make good any loss in their respective territories.[113] On certain ceremonial occasions like the birth of a son or daughter to the king, or his annual birthday, these nobles offered him 'great presents of money and jewels of price'.[114] In addition to these they were expected to make great gifts of money to the king on the new year day. Paes says: "It is even said that they give on that day to the king in money a million and five hundred thousand gold *pardaos*."[115] According to Nuniz the nobles sent food to him every day to his house, namely, rice, wheat, meat and fowls with all other necessary things.[116]

Failure to conform to these obligations was liable to be punished. Nuniz says that the estates of these *nāyakas* would be confiscated and themselves severely punished if they did not maintain the full number of soldiers or pay tribute according to their obligations.[117] Barbosa also observes that when the king found any great lord or relation guilty of any crime, he sent for him immediately and if he failed to give "a just excuse for his fault", he chastised him in words as thoroughly as he deserved and took from him half of his revenues. Then he was immediately ordered to be stripped and stretched on the ground and given a severe beating; and if he happened to be a near relative of the king, the king beat him with his own hand and after he had been punished he was ordered to be taken in his palanquin "very honourably with the music and rejoicing to his own house".[118] But the administration of corporal punishment is not mentioned by any other writer. Hence it appears to be as Dames remarks an improbable story.[119]

Duarte Barbosa while describing the Vijayanagar empire says: "All these villages and hamlets are inhabited by Heathen, among whom dwell a few Moors. Many places here belong to the Lords who hold them from the King of Narsyngua, who in his

112. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-81.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 380.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 282.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
117. *Ibid.*, pp. 374 and 389.
118. *Barbosa*, I, p. 209.
119. *Ibid.*, *fn.*

own town keeps his governors and collectors of his rents and duties."[120] This statement of the traveller shows that there were two types of provinces one of which was held by the 'lords' from the king (on the feudal basis) and the other was directly governed by the king through his governors or agents. These two types of provincial officers were the *nāyakas* and governors of our classification.

The constitutional position of the *nāyaka* appears to have been different from that of a governor of a province, though both of them had a few similar obligations to be fulfilled. (1) While the governor was the king's representative in a province and ruled it on behalf of the king, the *nāyaka* was only a military vassal. It was more to enable him to meet his financial and military obligations that he was assigned a district. (2) The *nāyaka* enjoyed a comparatively greater freedom in his territory. The internal administration of his district does not appear to have been interfered with by the king. It seems that the *nāyaka* was not subject to transfer from one district to another. It was not unusual, however, for a *nāyaka* to be removed from a particular district assigned to him. But in such cases the reason for his removal was evidently his failure to fulfil his obligations or the desire of the king to provide for another of his favourites. But the transfer or removal of a governor appears to have been due to administrative necessities. (3) The *nāyaka* had onerous responsibilities. The responsible work of the clearance of forests, introduction of agriculture, and the spread of civilization were a few of the more important works entrusted to and done by the *nāyakas*. (4) The governors were generally called *Daṇḍanāyakas* and were invariably Brahmans. (5) The *nāyakaship* which was in the initial stages personal became hereditary in course of time when the kings at the centre became weak and effeminate.

The *nāyakas* maintained two sets of officers at the imperial headquarters. One of them appears to have been an officer in charge of the military of his lord stationed at the capital. Nuniz speaks about a particular group of *nāyakas* who were never suffered to settle themselves in cities or towns lest they should be beyond the reach of the king's hand.[121] But as said in an earlier connection Nuniz seems to be wrong in his statement, especially in view of the remarks of Paes who, describing a group of nobles in the days

120. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
121. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says: "These captains are the nobles of the kingdom; they are lords and they hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom."[122] Evidently Nuniz confuses between the *nāyakas* who were ruling their territories, and their military agents at the capital who were not allowed to go home since they served as the agents and hostages of their respective lords. We have no evidence to show that these nobles at the imperial court guarded the bastions of the palace as the *Pāḷaiyagārs* under the Madura Nāyaks did at Madura. But we may not be wrong if we assume that they did so as the provincial organisation in the Vijayanagar empire was only a smaller replica of the imperial organisation.

The other officer the *nāyaka* kept at the imperial court was the *sthānāpati* or civil agent who represented the interests of his master at the capital. Nuniz gives an account of that officer in the following terms: "The captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisnaga as well those who are at Court as those who are away from it, have each one his secretary who goes to the palace in order to write to him and let him know what the king is doing; and they manage so that nothing takes place of which they do not soon know, and day and night they are always in the palace."[123] Thus according to the *Rāyavācakamu,* Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Madura had an agent, *sthānāpati,* at Vijayanagar, and it was he that wrote the *Rāyavācakamu* giving an account of the reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[124] From the account of Nuniz it appears that the provincial governors who held some office at the imperial court and hence had to remain at the capital had also their "secretaries" at the palace of the king to represent the interests of their masters.

In some important respects the *nāyaṅkara* system in the Vijayanagar days reminds us of the feudal organisation in mediaeval Europe. But the analogy is limited to a few respects only, for in the *nāyaṅkara* system the feudal principle had not developed to the extent to which it had done in Europe.

Feudalism can be described "as a complete organization of society through the medium of land tenure, in which from the king down to the lowest landowner all are bound together by the obligation of service and defence; the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do service to his lord; the defence and service being based

122. Sewell, *op. cit.,* p. 280.
123. *Ibid.,* p. 374.
124. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources,* pp. 110-11.

on and regulated by the nature and extent of the land held by the one or the other. In those states which have reached the territorial stage of development, the rights of defence and service are supplemented by the right of jurisdiction. The lord judges or defends his vassal; the vassal does suit as well as service to his lord. In states in which feudal government has reached its utmost growth, the political, financial, judicial, every branch of public administration is regulated as a mere shadow of a name." [125] Thus feudalism had two aspects; one was the political and the other the economic. According to the former the tenant ruled his territories, enjoyed certain powers, and in return was bound to serve the lord; in his turn the lord was expected to protect his vassal. The economic aspect of feudalism consisted in the fact that the vassal's position and power were closely related to the extent of land he held.

According to the *nāyaṅkara* system also we find that the king was the ultimate owner of the soil. Nuniz says: "All the land belongs to the King and from his hand the captains hold it . . . they have no land of their own for the kingdom belongs entirely to the King."[126] The *nāyakas*, like the feudal tenants of mediaeval Europe, held the lands immediately or mediately of the king in return for a fixed annual financial contribution and the maintenance of a fixed military contingent. They too gave their lands to minor tenants on terms similar to those on which they held their lands from the king. This was analogous to the process of sub-infeudation in Europe.

But in certain other respects the Vijayanagar *nāyaṅkara* system differed from its European parallel. Firstly in the manner in which it was brought into existence: European feudalism was the result of two sets of forces—the process of commendation where the individual small landowner to ensure his own safety commended himself to a lord, gave his lands to him, and received them back as a fief in return for service on his part on the promise of protection by the lord, and the process of beneficium according to which the lord granted lands to the tenant in return for certain specific services to be rendered; but the *nāyaṅkara* system was the result of the deliberate policy of the kings in assigning territories to the *nāyakas* in return for military service and a fixed financial contribution.

125. Stubbs, *Const. Hist. of England*, I, p. 288.
126. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

Secondly the political element which was predominant in the European feudalism was lacking in the *nāyaṅkara* system. The tenure of the Vijayanagar *nāyaka* who held his land of the king was more in the nature of a military fief and was known as the *amaram* tenure. Further the Vijayanagar kings were more ready to charge their *nāyakas* with onerous responsibilities and duties than prepared to safeguard their interests. As Nuniz says they were liable to be ruined and their property taken away if they did not meet their obligations at the proper time.[127] But in feudal Europe " tenancy at will grew into tenancy for life which in its turn extended into a heritage holding." [128]

Another point that deserves to be noted is the fact that while in mediaeval Europe the whole society was chained together by the link of land tenure, in the Vijayanagar days the *nāyaṅkara* system linked together only a certain section of the population. The gradual expansion of the principle of sub-infeudation did not reach such a high degree of perfection in India as it did in Europe. Further the feudal principle was not applied in India to all offices as it was done in Europe, for in that continent even justice became feudalised. These considerations show that the Vijayanagar *nāyaṅkara* system fell far short of a completely feudal organisation.

It may not be out of place here to examine the merits and defects of the *nāyaṅkara* system. Large tracts of land till then covered with thick forests and rocky hills were occupied by the enterprising *nāyakas*, cities were founded, villages were formed and the torch of civilization was carried into those regions. Great irrigation facilities were afforded and everything good in Hindu culture and civilization was fostered and encouraged by them. But such services as these rendered by the *nāyakas* cannot blind us to certain defects in the system. Speaking about the *Pāḷaiyagārs* of Madura, Caldwell observes : " It can hardly be said that the idea of governing the country by means of an order of rude, rapacious, feudal nobles, such as *poligars* generally were, turned out to be a happy one, for down to the period of their final subjection and submission to British authority in 1801, whenever they were not at war with the central authority, they were at war with one another, and it was rarely possible to collect tribute from them or revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force which added greatly both to the unpopularity and expense of the collec-

127. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
128. Medley, *English Constitutional History*, p. 28.

tion ".[129] But Stuart defends the *Pāḷaiyagār* system and says: " This remark would however apply with equal force to feudal institutions in Europe in the middle ages, and as these served their purpose in the age of the world in which they flourished, it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that protection from foreign foes and internal order and progress though frequently accompanied by oppression and misrule was secured by this means to an extent to which it would otherwise have been impossible."[130] But his European feudal analogy cannot be pressed far, for this system was not complete feudalism, and his arguments look like special pleading. There were certain defects in the system which cannot be made light of. The independence they enjoyed within their territories gave them opportunities for engaging themselves in local wars and mutual feuds. At times they even defied the central authority when it became weak under inefficient kings. Further the chief *nāyakas* who distributed their lands among their tenants in the same way as they themselves received them from the king exacted tributes and military service from them to their own advantage. Hence the *nāyakas* who held their land from a bigger *nāyaka* were not answerable to the king. Thus if the *nāyaka* directly answerable to the king chose to defy the central authority he had the following of a large number of dependents while the king himself was left helpless. This was a weak point in the European feudal organisation also. Heras while describing the *Pāḷaiyagār* organisation at Madura remarks : " Moreover, the fact that the Tamil and Telugu chiefs were indiscriminately appointed pāḷaiyakārans, was supposed to foster the necessary union of establishing a lasting peace between both the subjects and their foreign rulers. This was by far the most important political event of the time, in spite of the fact that it fomented ambitions in these petty chiefs and weakened the royal authority of Madura, of which they were too independent from the very beginning. Had they been more systematically attached to, and dependent on, the central power, Madura might have been saved from many of the troubles caused by the Pāḷaiyakārans."[131] The same remarks can be made on the Vijayanagar *nāyaṅkara* organisation as well. The way in which the *nāyakas* conducted themselves towards the central government on certain momentous occasions in the history of Vijayanagar, like disputed successions or foreign invasions, brings into light the weakness of the organisation.

129. *History of Tinnevelly,* p. 58.
130. *Tinnevelly Manual,* p. 42.
131. *Aravidu Dynasty,* I, p. 134.

The stability of the central government might have been ensured if greater hold had been exercised over the semi-independent *nāyakas*. But the organisation of the administration partly on the *nāyaṅkara* basis was a necessity of the times, and it was only for want of a better scheme of governmental organisation that this system was adopted. In spite of the weakness of the system it served its purpose tolerably well.

3. *Subordinate Allies*: The subordinate allies were the conquered rulers of older states. In certain portions of the outlying parts of the empire the members of a few dynasties were allowed to rule their small principalities on condition of their paying annual tribute to the Vijayanagar sovereign. They enjoyed perfect internal autonomy without fear of intervention by the imperial authority so long as they paid their annual contributions in men and money to their suzerain. Curiously there were many such small semi-independent principalities in the Karnāṭaka country. As said earlier the range of hills that separated their territories from the eastern parts must have given rise to difficulties for the Vijayanagar kings in subjugating their rulers. Further the imperial sovereigns had to recognise their existence because they could have served them better as buffers than as feudatories, and perhaps the people in the locality would have liked to obey their hereditary rulers rather than the new conqueror. It appears that these subordinate allies maintained their agents at the imperial court. Nuniz mentions a few of such rulers. As noted earlier they were the kings of Bengapor, Gasopa, Becanor, Calecu and Bhatkal.[132] Among the others were the kings of Honawar, who at times owed allegiance to Vijayanagar and at times to Bijapur and not infrequently to the Portuguese also, of Uḷḷal who very often waged war with the Portuguese but at times paid tribute to them, and of Gangolly who was also subject to Vijayanagar.[133]

SECTION IV

Control of the Provincial Organisation

Though the provinces of the empire were given internal autonomy, in the later Vijayanagar period the independence of the *nāyakas* was sought to be checked by the appointment of "Special

132. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.
133. See Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-90 for a list of such subordinate principalities.

Commissioners" who were entrusted with the task of keeping them under control. These "Special Commissioners" were generally men of exceptional ability and brilliant parts, and were as far as possible chosen from among the members of the royal family. After the administration of the southern districts of the Vijayanagar empire had been satisfactorily provided for during the reign of Acyuta Rāya by the foundation of the Madura *Nāyakship* under the able Viśvanātha Nāyaka, we see in the same locality an officer who styled himself a *Rājādhi rāja* and a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.*[134] Originally sent to lead an expedition into the Travancore frontier and to put an end to certain troubles on the fishery coast which Viśvanātha was not able to control, perhaps on account of his preoccupation with the organisation of the administration of the territories assigned to him for his *nāyakship*, Rāma Rāja Viṭṭhala was, after the successful termination of his expedition, probably made a "Special Commissioner" and was assigned all South India for his sphere. His overlordship appears to have been accepted even by Bhūtalavīra who in Kollam 722 (A.D. 1546—47) provided for special offerings to be made to the Viṣṇu shrine at Sucīndram on the birthday of Viṭṭhalēśvara Mahārāja.[135] He was a great check on the rapacity of the feudatories like the ruler of Travancore, and he enforced the imperial sway over all South India. But the exact relation between Viśvanātha Nāyaka and Rāma Rāja Viṭṭhala is hard to explain. In a few inscriptions Viśvanātha accepts that he is an agent of Viṭṭhala. According to an epigraph Viśvanātha makes a grant for the merit of Viṭṭhaladēva.[136] It is perhaps on the strength of these inscriptions that Dr. S. K. Aiyangar concludes: "During this period the viceroy of Madura Viśvanātha and his son Kṛṣṇappa had to be subordinate to this special officer".[137] But Heras questions this conclusion and thinks that the aim of Viṭṭhala's appointment having been different "there was no need of subordination to each other" (*sic*) and adds that "each could fulfil his aims independently. Nevertheless Viśvanātha helped Viṭṭhala in his expedition against Travancore."[138] He seeks to clarify their constitutional relations by a modern parallel and remarks: "The relations between Viṭṭhala and Viśvanātha may be compared to

134. 6 of 1906.
135. 64 of 1896; *M.E.R.*, 1899-1900. *Rep.*, para 79.
136. 599 of 1916; 721 of 1915, etc.
137. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *The Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 14.
138. *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 155.

those between the Agent of the Governor-General and the Rāja of one of the native tributary States in India now-a-days."[139] But the contention of Heras does not appear to be sound, nor is his modern analogy appropriate. Viśvanātha definitely states that he was the agent of Viṭṭhala and acknowledges his superior commission. A modern Rāja of an Indian tributary State does not accept his subordination to the Governor-General's agent (Resident) but only to the Paramount authority. The function of the modern Agent is very much limited, and he is only a channel of communication. He has no right to govern the State in which he is the Agent of the Government. But Viṭṭhala's powers seem to have been very wide. He imposed his authority on the feudatories, made his own grants,[140] decided disputes,[141] and acted as an independent ruler for all practical purposes, which the Agent of a modern Governor-General in the Indian State cannot do. Thus our evidence goes to show that he was a 'Superior Commissioner' and charged with the duty of exercising a supervisory control over the *nāyakas* in the south.

On the accession of Tirumala to the Vijayanagar throne on the death of Sadāśiva, the empire was torn asunder by internal dissensions and the rebellions of the feudal vassals, and hence the emperor divided his vast empire into three divisions on a more or less linguistic basis and over each of them he appointed one of his sons as viceroy. Thus Śrī Raṅga Rāya was the viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his capital at Penugoṇḍa.[142] Rāma was ruling over the western parts of the empire with Seringapatam as his capital,[143] while the last prince Veṅkaṭa was the viceroy of the Tuṇḍīra (Jiñji), Cōḷa (Tanjore) and Pāṇḍya (Madura) countries with his capital at Candragiri.[144] The *Vasucaritramu* definitely states that he "was governing as viceroy the kingdom of Candragiri having under his authority many feudatory princes".[145] The constitutional position of the viceroy in relation to the already existing *nāyakas* is shown clearly by

139. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
140. 273 of 1901.
141. 140 of 1895; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 704.
142. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
143. *Ibid.*, pp. 302 and 217.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

this statement in the work.[146] It would appear that the viceroy over the Tamil districts was a 'Special Commissioner' to exercise some sort of a supervisory control over the *Nāyakas* of Jiñji, Tanjore and Madura. It is reasonable to assume here that the position of Viṭṭhaladēva Mahārāja must have been analogous to that of the Candragiri viceroy during the time of Tirumala. The Seringapatam and Penugoṇḍa viceroys must have likewise held the 'Special Commissionerships' and kept under check the feudatories under their respective control.

146. Richards in the *Salem Gazetteer* states that "the empire, about this time was divided into six viceroyalties: (1) Āndhra, (2) Karnāṭa, (3) Madura, (4) Candragiri, (5) Jiñji and (6) Tanjore. Here the three viceroyalties of Madura, Tanjore and Jiñji have been treated as distinct from the Tamil viceroyalty with Candragiri as its capital. This is evidently a mistake.

CHAPTER VII

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

SECTION I

The Sabhā

In India the one political institution that has survived revolutions, changes of empires, ravages of time and the influence of alien domination is local government. The village institutions retained their vitality till almost the commencement of the British rule in India. About the services rendered by these village republics in India Elphinstone observes: " Though probably not compatible with a very good form of government they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one. They prevent the bad effects of negligence and weakness and even present some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity. Again, these communities contain in miniature all the materials of a state within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members if all other government were withdrawn. In the stability and continuity of Indian village life and organisation is to be sought the secret of the good things achieved by India in the past."[1]

An important feature about the administration of local areas in ancient India was the active functioning of what we may call local assemblies which carried on the administration of the local areas. Two types of such rural organisation can be distinguished. (1) The first was the village *sabhā* with its counterpart *ūr*. (2) The second was the *nāḍu*, the assembly of a larger rural division. Besides these there were associations of a corporate character which, though not completely political bodies, still discharged certain political functions. Among them mention can be made of the professional guilds and mercantile corporations and the temple which, besides being the house of god, was also an important centre of political and economic life in the local areas.

The origin of the village *sabhā* is shrouded in mystery. But it can be assumed that the term *sabhai* is the Tamilised form of the

1. See K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri, *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, p. 73.

Sanskrit word *sabhā* which means an assembly, and this term was used to denote an assembly even in the days of the Vedas. But it appears that the assembly of some villages only was called the *sabhai*, and such villages were those granted to Brahmans (*brahmadēya* villages). Side by side with the assembly of the *brahmadēya* villages was the assembly of the *ūr*, and it was called the *ūr*. There seems to have been a good deal of difference between a *sabhai* and an *ūr*. While the one was purely a Brahman concern and obtained only in *brahmadēya* villages, the other was an assembly of persons in a non-*brahmadēya* village or a village in which the proprietors of the soil were not exclusively Brahmans. Though we find some reference to the *ūr* in the inscriptions yet the knowledge we have of it is very limited. But about the constitution and working of the *sabhā* in the *brahmadēya* villages we have much information. However the epigraphs that describe the working of these *sabhās* belong to the Cōḻa period, and are far anterior to the Vijayanagar days. But inasmuch as we get references to the *sabhās* as doing almost what the Cōḻa *sabhās* did, it may be assumed that in the Vijayanagar days also the *sabhās* continued to work on the old lines and discharged their old functions regularly.

In certain places the body of the *mahāsabhā* or *sabhā* was called the *mahājanas*. The assembly of Agaramputtūr *alias* Mādhavacaturvēdimaṅgalam was called the *mahājana*. Every caturvēdimaṅgalam (*brahmadēya* village) consisted of a central village to which was attached a large number of small ones. The village was divided into a number of wards. Each caturvēdimaṅgalam had an assembly of a certain number of members. A high standard of qualification was expected of them. They were expected to have studied the four Vedas; a few of them were required to have a good knowledge of the *Ṣaḍaṅgas* as well; otherwise they were expected to have acquired a good knowledge relating to the conduct of sacrifices and performed them. They were also expected to have besides these cultural attainments a good physique and a strong constitution to bear the fatigue of their work.[2]

From the inscriptions we get some idea of the strength of the village assemblies in the Vijayanagar days. An epigraph at Tiruvāṇḍārkōyil in the Pondicherry territory records that Tribhuvanamahādēvi caturvēdimaṅgalam had an assembly consisting of 4000

2. See K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 318 *ff*.

men.[3] It must have been too unwieldy to transact any business successfully. These assemblies generally met in a temple hall, failing which they seem to have gathered at some other public place. According to an inscription at Virāccilai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State a great assembly met in a flower garden (*nandavanam*).[4] The corporate character and the large size of these assemblies are indicated by the terms *ūrāga iśainda ūrōm*, or *nāḍāga iśainda nāṭṭavarōm* and *kuṟaivara kūḍi, niṟaivara niṟaindu,* etc. Though these assemblies seem to have been large it is reasonable to assume that their deliberations were conducted only by a few residents who were the leading citizens of the locality. Some of these assemblies were at times called *mahāsabhās*. Thus Kāvēripākkam in the North Arcot district is said to have had a *mahāsabhā* in A.D. 1459-60.[5]

The village assemblies possessed the right of disposing of or acquiring lands or other kinds of property in the name and on behalf of the village. Thus the assembly of Ukkal *alias* Vikramābharaṇacaturvēdimaṅgalam sold the village of Araśāṇipālai for six hundred *kāśus* to an individual of Śeṟṟūr in Teṉkaṟai Uyyakoṇḍanvaḷa nāḍu, a subdivision of the Cōḻamaṇḍalam;[6] the same assembly a few years later sold the village of Iṭṭigaipaṭṭu for 400 *paṇams* to certain individuals.[7] According to a record at Āvaḍaiyārkōyil in the Tanjore district the assembly of the village of Tirupperunduṟai made a gift of two pieces of land as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* to the temple of Śōḻapāṇḍya Viṇṇagar Emberumāṉār in the same village.[8]

It is hard to explain the right of these village assemblies to sell away or make gift of the lands in the villages under their jurisdiction unless we associate the institution of the *sabhā* and its inherent proprietory right on the lands under its jurisdiction with the question of land tenures. As we said earlier every *brahmadēya* village had a *sabhā* which was its representative body, and as such was vested with the right of acting on behalf of the villagers. Further it is as a joint body that the assembly made the grants, and this right of acting as the joint body representing the villagers was acquired by it by reason of the

3. 217 of 1917 ; *Rep.*, 1918, para 67.
4. *I.P.S.*, 705.
5. 392 of 1905.
6. 389 of 1923.
7. 358 of 1923.
8. 509 of 1925.

joint tenure under which the villagers held the land. In such villages the proprietors held the lands jointly and could sell or make gifts of their lands only jointly and not individually. Here the terms *gaṇabhōgam* and *ēkabhōgam* deserve some examination. *Gaṇabhōgam* indicates that lands held under that system were jointly held by the people, and hence under a joint tenure. But under the *ēkabhōgam* system the lands seem to have been held by only one person, and hence he had absolute and unlimited right over the soil. In some other cases the village granted was divided into a number of *vṛttis* each of which or a certain number of which was granted to a particular individual. According to a copper-plate record of Harihara II for instance a grant of twenty-two villages was made by the king on *Agrahāra* terms to a few Brahmans to be held by them jointly (*gaṇabhōgam*).[9] This would indicate that the villages were to be joint villages, and hence any sale or gift of the lands in the said twenty-two villages was to be made only jointy by the donees. No single member among them could deal with the property independently of the others. But the case of an *ēkabhōgam* village was quite different, for the donee in this case was not bound to act jointly with others in regard to the sale or gift of the property of which he was in full and unlimited possession. In Ś. 1451 Acyuta Rāya made a grant of the village of Kaḍalāḍi in the Paḍaivīḍu mahārājya to one Rāmacandra Dīkṣita as a *sarvamānya* to be enjoyed by him and his descendants on *ēkabhōgam* tenure, which implies the exclusive ownership of the property and the rights over it by a single individual. When however a *sarvamānya* village held under such *ēkabhōgam* tenure was distributed among a number of persons, it simply meant that they were granted the right of enjoyment of the income from the village unless it was clearly stated by the donor that he was making a *sarvamānya* grant of the lands in question. In the absence of such a specific statement we have to understand that the donor reserved the right to the property to himself, but granted only the right of enjoyment to the persons in question. According to the inscriptions under reference Rāmacandra Dīkṣita, the original donee of the *sarvamānya* grant, appears to have reserved to himself the right of ownership and granted only the right of enjoyment to the Brahmans of his sect.[10]

A few types of joint ownership can be distinguished: (1) The first is a complete and unlimited ownership and hence implies the

9. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 357, l. 120.
10. E.I., XIV, Kaḍalāḍi Plates of Acyuta Rāya, Text, v. 49 and p. 313.

right of the whole community in the soil. In this case in the particular village in which this system prevails the joint owners cultivate the lands in common and reap the profits in common in proportion to the number of *vṛttis* each has in the said village. Thus if a village is divided into 120 *vṛttis* among a few people, each such *vṛttidār*, owning say from two to five *vṛttis*, contributes labour in proportion to the number of *vṛttis* he holds, and his share of the produce is also in the same proportion. (2) The second type is one in which a particular portion of the village is held in common by the villagers, while they have their own plots other than those held in common by them. They generally cultivate their own lands in their own way independently of the others, but in the case of the common lands in the village all the co-sharers contribute their labour in common, and enjoy the profits in common each having a share of it according to a fixed proportion settled by the community in proportion to the amount of land held by each. In this case the community is the joint owner of only a part of the village, while the individual villager has his own lands, and his use of those lands is not controlled by the joint community of which he is also a member. (3) Another type of village is the one in which the joint community is the owner of all the lands in the village, but it does not cultivate the lands jointly or enjoy in common the fruits of the labour spent on them. The lands in the village in this case are divided into three classes, best, middling and bad, and every individual member of the joint community is given a portion of each of these three classes of lands; he is not to be in permanent possession of the allotted lands, but is required to part with them after a particular time in return for other plots in each of these three classes. Thus there is a periodical redistribution of the lands held by the joint community among its members who could enjoy their share during the period in which they are under them. This system is known as the *karaiyīḍu* in the Tanjore district.[11] Thus in the first case ownership rests with the joint community where the individual has no right over the property except as a member of the joint community; in the second case the joint community has only a limited right over the village, for it holds in common only a part of the village, and hence controls only that portion of the village, while the individual has proprietory right over certain lands in the village which he enjoys by his own right uninterfered by the joint community; and in the third case the joint community

11. *Ind. Ant.*, III, pp. 65-69.

is the proprietor of the whole, but it distributes the lands among the co-sharers to be enjoyed by them until the next redistribution.

An important feature of the villages in which part of the lands was held in common by the community was that outsiders were not allowed to get any right or share by purchase or by grant. The community was anxious that no outsider should get any benefit by the purchase of such lands. According to an inscription at Māṅgāḍu in the Chingleput district the residents of the village made an agreement among themselves "that any owner of land (in the village of Māṅgāḍu) (desirous of) selling (his land) must sell it to a landowner within that village and not to any outsider, nor could he give even as dowry (*strīdhana*) lands in the village to an outsider."[12] An inscription in the Malavaḷḷi taluk in the Mysore district registers an agreement among the people that if any among the shareholders (who were evidently Brahmans) mortgaged or sold his share to Śūdras, he must be put out of the Brahman community and such share should not belong to that place.[13] If outsiders wished to cultivate lands in a particular village certain disabilities were placed in their way. Thus for instance by order of Rāma Rāja Viṭṭhala, Rājayya Bācarasayya of Haḍināḍ and Cāmarasa Gauḍa made the following rule for the cultivation of the rice lands in Hoṅganūr : " If, in addition to the resident ryots, any important resident in the neighbourhood plough (there), he may do so in accordance with the *paṭṭe* granted by the *Māsanikāra*, *Pārupatyagāra*, *Gauḍa*, and *Sēnabōva* ; not according to the same rule as the resident ryots. If any one setting at naught this order is not prevented at the time by the *Karaṇika* of the *Cāvaḍi* and the *Gauḍa* and *Sēnebōva*, they will incur the guilt of slaughtering cows, etc.........".[14] Thus these villages were very anxious to prevent outsiders from getting into their villages, even for purposes of cultivation.

Now to return to the village *sabhā*. It seems to have functioned in the *gaṇabhōga* or *samudāyam* villages where it acted in the name and on behalf of the village community as a whole. Thus it would appear that these *sabhās* had their origin in the communal character of the villages, and they exercised full authority over the sale and purchase of lands on behalf of the community. Then the question arises if the individual co-sharer in the village com-

12. 354 of 1908 ; *Rep.*, 1909, para 67.
13. *E.C.*, III, Ml. 121.
14. *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 38.

munity had any right to sell or dispose of his share of the communal property independently of the *sabhā*. He does not seem to have had any right to deal with the property except as a co-sharer and hence through the *sabhā*. However this applies only to a village the whole of which is held in common by the people and where the individual has no independent right of possession of any piece of land in the village. But in a village where only a part of it is held in common by the joint community and side by side with it the individual ryot has got some plots of land of which he is the sole proprietor, he can sell his private lands independently of the *sabhā* though he may be precluded from disposing of the lands held by the *sabhā* in the name of the joint community of which he may be a member and hence is bound to contribute to the cost of production and entitled to a particular share of the income from that portion of the village. Thus according to an inscription of A.D. 1370 at Paḻani in the Madura district, one Periya Perumāḷ Nambi, a member of the *sabhā* of Kalaiyaṉputtūr, made a grant.[15] Here it would appear that part of the lands in the said village of Kalaiyaṉputtūr, was held jointly by the village community while some other lands were held individually by the people, who as members of the joint community had also a place in the village *sabhā*. Hence it is that Periya Nambi was able to make a grant without any reference to the *sabhā*; and it has to be inferred that he made the grant only from the property he held individually.

The next important function of the village *sabhā* was that of tax collection. The collection of taxes payable to the imperial government was at times entrusted to the village *sabhās* or the *ūravar*. Where the local bodies collected the taxes due to the imperial government, these local tax collecting agents had to be informed by the authorities of any remissions in the taxes or new impositions if levied, and they made the necessary entries in their account books and carried out the order. Thus for instance when one Tirumēni Aḻagiyār *alias* Śeṉpakarāya, Viśaiyāladēva of Śūraikkuḍi set apart the amount of one hundred and fifty *vāḷāl vaḻi tiṟandāṉ kuḷiśaipaṇams* due annually as *paccai paṇam* from the temple for offerings to God at the service called after his name, the *nāṭṭavar* (district assembly) subsequently deducted the above amount both from the tax-register and (village) accounts.[16] Then again an epigraph at Tirumakkōṭṭai in the Tanjore district

15. 609 of 1893; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 285.
16. *I.P.S.*, 699.

registers an order to the *Mahājanas* of Pālaiyūr *alias* Bhupatirāya-samudram that the old method of levying taxes in grain for the protection of the country must be revived instead of the then prevailing custom of collecting both in grain and money.[17] It is evident that because the *Mahājanas* were the agents of the imperial government for the collection of the state revenues the order was communicated to them.

Besides being the agents of the government for the collection of the state revenues, these rural assemblies had certain inherent rights for the levy of fresh taxes and the remission of old ones. Thus according to an inscription at Tiruvaḍatturai in the South Arcot district the assembly and *Tantrimār* of Karippōkku nāḍu made a gift of the taxes on land.[18] The assembly of Śiruvayal decided to exclude *sarvamānya* lands belonging to a certain deity and to include others for purposes of taxation.[19] Again the people of Kūḷaikuḷattūr gave away the right of levying certain taxes to goldsmiths.[20] But the remissions made on the initiative of the local bodies concerned only the local cesses collected by the assembly for local purposes and had nothing to do with their contribution to the imperial exchequer; or if the taxes were imperial ones they had been farmed out to the local bodies. It would appear that if the local body which at times was the agent of the government for the collection of the state revenues, remitted the imperial revenues without the sanction of the government authority then it must have done so only at its own cost, for the government would not have been prepared to accept any amount less than that which they were obliged to take under the terms of the contract into which they had entered with the assembly.

But these local bodies had great influence over the revenue policy of the government. In places where these assemblies existed the government could not impose new taxes or remit old ones without their consent since they carefully guarded the interests of the community. Thus Abbarāja Tirumalarāja granted for instance the *mūlaviśa* of certain villages for the offerings to the God Tiruveṅgaḷanātha with the consent of the *Mahānāḍu* (general assembly).[21]

17. 259 of 1917.
18. 211 of 1928-29.
19. 178 of 1926.
20. 384 of 1914.
21. 681 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1923, para 83.

On a few occasions the *ūravar* acted as the lease holders of the lands of the rulers. Thus Vaṉṉiyaṉār Aḍaikkalaṅgāttār *alias* Nāḍumaditta Viśaiyālaiyadēva gave a piece of land which was a *kuḍiniṅgādēvadāṉam* to the *ūravar* of Tulaiyānilai and Paraḷi. They were required to pay in the dues of the *nāḍu*, but were exempted from the payment of certain taxes.[22]

These assemblies had certain judicial powers. They could try certain cases and inflict punishment on the offenders. We have seen for instance in an earlier section how the *Mahājanas* of the agrahāras of Kuḷattūr, Ālambaḷam, Śaḍaiyaṉpaṭṭu and Muṭṭiyā-kuṟicci decided a case of dispute between two priests and the managers of the temple of Kāmēśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉar at Āra-gaḷūr in the Salem district about the privilege of worshipping the God all the thirty days in the month, as also how that decision was given effect to by the temple authorities concerned.[23] They had also the right to confiscate the lands of guilty persons. The village assembly of Tirupperundurai in the Tanjore district for instance gave as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* in Ś. 1308 (1386-7) to the local temple of Śōḻapāṇḍya Viṇṇagar Emberumāṉār, land which it had confiscated from a certain Āṇḍāṉ Piḷḷai of Tiruppattūr on account of some fault (*kuṟai*) committed by him.[24]

But in the later period of Vijayanagar history these villages do not appear to have enjoyed such wide powers. They had to get the sanction of the imperial officer in the locality before they could dispose of the lands of certain individuals. Thus at Śērmādēvi in the Tinnevelly district we find that in A.D. 1544 Rāmappa Nāyuḍu along with a few others and the learned men of Cēramahādēvi, Ēlāpuram and Narasāpuram met together and assigned the lands and house of a certain Yeruvadi Timmayya, an outcaste of the Brahman community, to the temple of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha.[25]

The village assemblies exercised some control over the temples as well. The assembly of Āṉaimēlagaram in the present Tanjore district confirmed the right of the temple at Mūvalūr over the lands that already belonged to it, the lands that had been gradually added on and the lands that once belonged to the God

22. *I.P.S.*, 720.
23. See *ante*, pp. 119-21.
24. 509 of 1925.
25. 718 of 1917.

Kālakūttar whose temple had been destroyed by fire.[26] Sometimes it shared in common with the temple the right of controlling certain public places like the village tank. Thus an inscription at Nāṅgunēri in the Tinnevelly district records the grant by the temple authorities and the assemblies of Śīvaramaṅgai and a few other places of the right of fishing in the tank in return for clearing the silt of the tank every year.[27]

The village assembly enjoyed also the right of conferring honours on certain individuals for certain services rendered. The *ūravar* of the villages of Kūḍalūr and Kulamaṅgalam for instance made a grant of the title of *Kalaṅgāda kaṇḍan kōṉ* with certain temple honours to a cowherd Poṉṉaṉ Kōṉ Eḻumbaṉ by name for supplying kids to the temple during the festivals of Kōṉāṭṭu nācciyār.[28]

The village assemblies acted sometimes as guardians of the public endowments and charities, and administered trusts, the expenses of which were to be met by the income from a particular landed property or money deposit placed in charge of these village assemblies. Thus according to an inscription at Paḷḷikoṇḍa in the North Arcot district, the assembly of Nandikampacaturvēdimaṅgalam made an agreement with a certain Vaṇakkaṉ Poṉṉāli Nambi, a merchant of Mērpādi, who endowed as *dāṉapuṟam* 2,000 *kuḻi* of land in the village of Vaippur for feeding daily a specified number of persons versed in the Vedas.[29] According to another epigraph at the same place the same assembly agreed to feed certain ascetics daily in return for a grant of 400 *kuḻi* of tax free land made as *dāṉapuṟam* by a lady named Umaiyāḷ Ammaiyāḷ.[30] Similarly when one Rācappa, the son of a merchant Ciṉṉappa, made a grant of a dry field of the sowing capacity of 10 *kōḷagas* for the service of God Kalledēva during the reign of Bukka II, the field was placed in charge of the *Mahājanas* of the village.[31]

The *nāḍu* was a larger political unit than a village. It had also an assembly which went by the name of *nāḍu*, the members of which were called the *nāṭṭavar*. The *nāḍu* enjoyed similar powers

26. 21 of 1925.
27. 262 of 1927-8.
28. *I.P.S.*, 692.
29. 470 of 1925.
30. 469 of 1925.
31. *M.A.R.*, 1924, para 51.

as the village assembly but its jurisdiction extended over a wider area. For instance the *nāṭṭavar* of the Kāṉanāḍu *alias* Virudarājabhayaṅkara vaḷanāḍu sold a piece of land to Tirumēṉi Aḻagiyār *alias* Nayiṉār Viśaiyālayadēva of Śūraikkuḍi.[32] According to a record at Peṉṉāḍam in the South Arcot district the *nāṭṭār* and *Tantrimār* of Karippōkkunāḍu made a *sarvamānya* gift of land.[33] Similarly the *nāṭṭavar* of Karigayanāḍu made a grant of six *poṉ* which was the income from a particular village. Again the residents of Teṉkarainādu in Jayaśiṅgakulakālavaḷanāḍu made a gift of land to the temple of Tirukkōkaṉṉamuḍaiya Nāyaṉār.[34] Thus the *nāḍu* and the *sabhā* were quasi-independent republics in the local areas managing local affairs, and bearing the responsibility for the carrying on of certain branches of the administration in the local areas.

But these local bodies do not seem to have been left uncontrolled by the government, for according to an inscription at Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot district, the *nāṭṭār* of the place gave an undertaking to the official committee of management (*rājakārya bhaṇḍāra*) that they would thenceforth allow certain privileges to the three classes of artisans, viz., blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters of the locality in accordance with the practice obtaining in a few other places and that if ever they should violate their promise they would pay a fine of 12 *poṉ* and suffer the twelve 'disgraces,' *kuṟṟams,* in consequence.[35]

But these republics slowly but steadily decayed in the course of the Vijayanagar period. Venkoba Rao while commenting upon a particular inscription of A.D. 1382 remarks: "These village assemblies which were powerful local institutions during the Cōḻa period seem to have gradually died out after the decline of the Cōḻa empire. The few transactions noticed in the above inscriptions were probably among the very last transactions of the assemblies before their total disappearance."[36] In another place while commenting upon an inscription of A.D. 1386 he observes: "The transaction recorded in the present inscription is another late instance of the vestiges of power wielded by the village assembly."[37]

32. *I.P.S.*, 685.
33. 261 of 1928-29.
34. *I.P.S.*, 691.
35. 65 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1922, para 54; see also 378 of 1921; *Rep.*, para 54.
36. *M.E.R.*, 1923-24, para 40.
37. *Ibid.*, 1925-26, para 35.

K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar also thinks that these assemblies slowly lost their vitality in the Vijayanagar period. He says: "Under the kings of the last Vijayanagar dynasty and in the dark days of what is generally called the memorable invasion of Malik Kafur as well as during the period of rule of the kings of the Bahmani line, the political and social institutions together with the official machinery of Southern India which were in existence from the earliest times had been shaken root and branch."[38] Saletore, however, believes that the village assemblies continued to function as local republics till a very late period, and questions Venkoba Rao's conclusions.[39] He bases his view on the fact that the Vijayanagar emperors respected the *pūrvamaryāda* of the people to a very great extent. He says: "We believe that the Vijayanagara monarchs did not introduce measures by which the powers of the local bodies lapsed to the central authority. On the other hand we may be permitted to repeat, that as promoters of the *pūrvadamaryāde* (ancient constitutional usage) it was their endeavour to preserve the old order of things and to allow the ancient officers to continue under the new government, although......they showed their discretion by placing over the local bodies officers of the central government."[40] But such respect for the *pūrvamaryāda* was confined only to certain customary rights which certain individuals or groups of persons enjoyed for a long time past. It does not appear to have had anything to do with the fostering of the village republics. The centralised machinery of the Vijayanagar administration could not have fostered the healthy growth of the village communal institutions. The kings themselves did not aim at the destruction of the village republics, yet the way in which they controlled even the distant parts of their empire could not have encouraged the active and judicious functioning of these village institutions. Further the appointment of the *Āyagārs* by the government stifled the free life of the village republics.

SECTION II

The Āyagār System

An important feature of the village organisation was the *Āyagār* system. According to it every village was a separate unit and

38. *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 313.
39. *Soc. and Pol. Life*, I, p. 342.
40. *Ibid.*

its affairs were conducted by a body of twelve functionaries who were collectively known as the *Āyagārs*. Col. Wilks describes the functions of these *Āyagārs* in the following terms: "Every Indian village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; the *goud* or *potail* is the judge and magistrate; the *karaṇam* or *shanbhog* is the registrar. The *taliary* or *sthulwār* and the *toti* are generally the watchmen of the village and of the crops; the *ṇeergaṇṭee* distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; the *jotishee, joshee* or astrologer performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the 'lucky and unlucky' days and hours for all the operations of farming; the smith and carpenter, frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; the washerman keeps clean the few garments which are spun and sometimes woven in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market; the barber contributes to the cleanliness and assists in the toilet of the villagers; the goldsmith marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they like to bedeck their wives and daughters; and these twelve officers styled the Barabullowuttee or Ayangadi, as requisite members of the community, receive the compensation of their labour either in allotments of land from the corporate stock or in fees consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village."[41] Almost every British Indian administrator in the early nineteenth century was struck by the vitality and usefulness of the *Āyagār* system.

These village functionaries were generally appointed by the government. An inscription at Rāvulaceruvu in the Anantapur district registers the conferment of the *reḍḍirikam* right over Dharmāvaram in equal shares on two families during the regime of Samprati Tipparājayya over Pennamāgāṇi in Guṭṭi rājya. It also specifies several individuals as the holders of different offices in the village and the extent of land allotted to them.[42] A copperplate grant said to be of the time of Śrī Raṅga II states that the Yalahaṅka nāḍu Prabhu Immaḍi Kempe Gauḍa granted the right of reading the *pañcāṅga* or almanac in a few villages to one Avubaḷa Narasiṁha

41. *Hist. Sketches of Mysore*, I, p. 73. See also Firminger, *Fifth Report*, Madras, p. 13, for a description of the working of the *Āyagār* system.
42. *M.E.R.*, Cp. 15 of 1925-26.

Bhaṭṭa, and provided that the fees attached to the office of reading the *pañcāṅga* in those villages were to be enjoyed by him and his descendants.[43] Once granted to them these *Āyagārs* had a hereditary right over their offices, and whenever disputes arose as to who had the right to a particular office, the government took great care to find out to whom it belonged by custom and long usage and decided such cases. Thus according to an inscription of A.D. 1565, when a few persons complained to the agent of Rāmadēva Mahārāya that the offices of *Sēnabōva* and *Jyōtiṣa,* which they had been enjoying since the days of their ancestors, had been brought under the *sist* and requested that they must be granted to them, he instituted an enquiry into the matter and declared: "The former residents affirming that the offices of *Sēnabōva, Jyōtiṣa, Purohita* and others belonging to the Sante-Bennūr-śīme in the Uccange venṭhe were held by you—we therefore grant them to you, as a gift to Rāma, to be enjoyed by you, your sons, grandsons, and posterity in regular succession, and you may take possession of the dues and rights (specified) belonging thereto in the Sante-Bennūr śīme."[44]

The *Āyagārs* had the right to sell or mortgage their offices.[45] They were granted tax free lands (*mānyams*) which they were to enjoy in perpetuity for their services. During the time of Vīra Śrī Raṅgarāyadēva Mahārāya, one Mahānāyakācārya Rāmappa for instance made a grant of certain lands in a few villages to one Nārāyaṇappa as *karaṇikamānya.* In addition to this the donee was also granted the right of collecting certain dues on all the lands, dry or wet, areca nut gardens, irrigation wells, etc., situated in all the villages of the *hobli* as remuneration for his service.[46]

These *Āyagārs* had onerous responsibilities within their locality. They were the guardians of the peace within their jurisdiction. No transfer of property could be effected or grant made without the knowledge and consent of these village functionaries. According to a damaged record at Guṇḍāla in the Kurnool district for instance, when Doḍla Veṅkaṭanāyaniṅgāru died, his son appointed an agent to supervise the Doḍla charities, viz., the *Prākāra* wall, pavilions, flower gardens, ponds and others in the temple of Canna-

43. *M.A.R.*, 1916, para 105; The inscription, however, is dated A.D. 1631.
44. *E.C.*, VII, Ci. 62.
45. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 581.
46. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 105, para 92.

kēśavaperumāḷ at Guṇḍal in Dhōni śīma and gave him some land in Tāḍūru with the consent of the *Reḍḍi*, *Karaṇam*, and the *Talāri* of the village.[47] Sales of land had to be made only with the knowledge of these officers and invariably the *Karaṇika* or the accountant was the writer of the sale deed, as he still continues to be in the villages.

SECTION III

Professional Associations and Guilds

Side by side with these political and corporate bodies we see certain professional associations, guilds and mercantile corporations discharging some duties similar to those transacted by the first type of local republics. Their constitutional status in relation to the central government was considerable, and they enjoyed a share in the management of the local administration. But it is difficult to say exactly if they enjoyed their powers independently of the *sabhā* or the *nāḍu* of the locality. In the light of the available evidence with regard to their power, it is reasonable to assume that they enjoyed certain concurrent powers with the *sabhā* and the *nāḍu*, and in a majority of cases co-operated with them in the transaction of their business.

Thus during the time of Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyār the smaller assemblies of Tiruvaraṅgam, Tirupati, Tiruvāṉaikkāval and a few other places, the three kinds of *paḷḷis*, the four or six kinds of professionals of artisans (*rathakāras*) all met together for the purpose of assigning duties to the *kaḷḷa vēlaikkārar* who sought refuge there, and for fixing their contribution for the temple for protecting them from all dangers.[48] Then again in A.D. 1406 the trustees of the temples of Uttamatāṉīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār, the Kaikkōḷa Mudalis and the *ūṟavar* of Kīranūr made a grant of *suvandiram* to a few goldsmiths of the village.[49] Here we do not know if the temple trustees and the Kaikkōḷa Mudalis enjoyed the same rights with regard to these grants as the village assembly which must have been a better knit and a more organised political body. But these communal bodies which had a quasi-political character seem to

47. 138 of 1913.
48. *I.P.S.*, 689; also 368 of 1914, *Rep.*, 1915, para 42.
49. *Ibid.*, 690.

have however enjoyed the right of co-operating with the assembly in some matters.

Another body of persons that constituted a political group and at times co-operated with the local assemblies is what were known as the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍangai* ninety-eight sects. Though they were essentially social groups with differences and frequent quarrels among themselves yet in their relations with the government they acted as an organised constitutional body. Thus according to a record at Tiruvaigāvūr in the Tanjore district the *Valaṅgai* 98 sects and the *Iḍaṅgai* 98 sects along with the assembled residents of Parāntakanāḍu met together and arrived at a decision regarding the amount under the various items of taxation payable to the government (*rājagaram iṟai muṟaimai*) or to the temple.[50] Similarly according to an unfinished and damaged record of A.D. 1429 at Vṛddhācalam already referred to, the *Valaṅgai* sects entered into an agreement among themselves that they would inflict corporal punishment on those who helped the tax-collectors of the king in the collection of taxes by coercive measures and who consented to write accounts.[51]

Side by side with these were a few communal associations made up of certain professional people. These constituted a political body by themselves and their consent either implied or explicit was sought by the government. They helped to a large extent the local rulers in the administration of the local areas. Thus Mudda Heggaḍe was administering the chief town of Kāp with the help of the assembly, communal and professional associations and subordinate officers.[52] The terms used to denote them are the *gaṇa* and *paṇa*. *Gaṇa* " is an aggregate of *kulas* ".[53] *Paṇa* is however a sectarian division. An inscription of the 17th century refers to eighteen such *paṇas*. They are the *Vyāvahārikas*, *Pāñcālas* (five sects of smiths), *Kuṁbhālikas* (potters), *Tantuvāyins* (weavers), *Vastra-bhedakas* (cloth dyers?), *Tilaghātakas* (oil millers), *Kuraṇṭakas* (*Kuratakas*?—shoe-makers), *Vastra-rakṣakas* (tailors), *Devāṅgas*, *Parikeliti* (*Parikelette vāru*?—keepers of pack bulls)

50. 59 of 1914 ; See *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
51. 92 of 1918 ; *Rep.*, 1918, para 68.
52. *E.I.*, XX, p. 90.
53. *Kulānāṁ hi samūhas tu gaṇaḥ saṁprakīrtitaḥ* (Kātyāyana, *Vīra Mitrodaya*, p. 426) quoted by Dr. Pran Nath in his *Economic Conditions in Ancient India*, p. 54.

Go-rakṣakas (cowherds), *Kirātas* (hunters), *Rajakas* (washermen) and *Kṣaurakas* (barbers). These seem to have formed a recognised part of the local assemblies.[54] They appear to be the eighteen castes, *Padinen bhūmi śamayattār,* of the Kunnāṇḍār kōyil inscription above referred to. Saletore doubts if these were not merely " conventional divisions ".[55] But the division of society according to profession need not be conventional.

Mention may be made here of some of the more important professional guilds or craft guilds. The most important of them was the *Hañjamanedavāru* (community). It is difficult to say exactly who they were. "Some scholars derive the term from the foreign word *añjumān* while others have taken it to refer to the Jewish and early Christian merchants who had settled in the west coast. But such an identification is precluded by the occurrence of the expression *Añjuvaṇṇattār-teru* in an inscription at Kṛṣṇapaṭṇam (No. 8) in the Nellore district where there is no tradition of any Syrian settlement. The Tamil term *Añjuvaṇṇam* meaning the ' five artisan castes' can with greater probability be equalled with this expression *Hañjamaṇa* of which it appears to be merely a modification. It seems to refer to the same community that is called *Pañcahānamvāru* of *Pañcālamvāru* in Telugu and *Pañcāḷattār* in the Tamil inscriptions. These artisan classes should have had a corporate existence in the early period as they were taxed collectively and made grants under the direction of the rulers in their corporate capacity."[56] Another such community was the Vaiśyavāṇiya nagarattār who, according to a record at Danāyakankōṭṭai in the Coimbatore district, agreed to contribute a fixed amount for the benefit of the local temple on certain articles of merchandise such as female cloths, pepper, areca nuts, thread, salt, grains and horses.[57]

Besides these there were certain mercantile corporations which were recognised to be quasi-political bodies within the empire. In the same way as almost every village had an assembly, every town appears to have had a mercantile association or guild. In fact the true difference between a village and a town lay in the fact that

54. *E.I.*, XX, p. 90, *fn.* ∟ , *M.E.R.*, 1918, paras 84 and 85. See in this connection K. R. R. Sastry, *South Indian Guilds*, pp. 6-32.
55. *Soc. and Pol. Life*, II, p. 26, *fn.*
56. ' 406 of 1927-8 ; *Rep.*, para 36.
57. 442 of 1906.

while the former had no such guild, almost every town had one known as the *nagarattār*. Secondly every town had generally a weekly fair (*śantai*) while that was not the mark of all villages.

About the existence of such guilds Abdur Razāk says: "The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar."[58] Paes also says: "There are temples in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants."[59]

The guilds were known as *nagarattārs* or *śeṭṭis* in the inscriptions. These mercantile corporations had certain common features which strike a student of mediaeval institutions. It was only a community of interest that brought into existence these guilds, and it was their common endeavour to promote their interest. They were local associations only and hence the constitution and working of a guild must have differed from place to place and from time to time. Every guild had a leader who exercised some control over the working of the organisation and acted as its accredited representative in its dealings with the government. He was known in the Kanarese and Telugu districts as the *Paṭṭaṇasvāmi* or *Śeṭṭi*. He was also probably the head of all the mercantile corporations in a given place. Finally another striking feature about the mediaeval guilds in India was that they belonged to a religious sect. It is this adherence to a particular religious faith that was a great unifying factor in the mediaeval guilds.

These guilds were usually consulted by the government when the taxes due from them were the subject of a gift. According to an epigraph at Hospet in the Bellary district Abbarāja Timmappa, the agent of Pradhāna Tirumalarāja, granted the *mūlaviśa* of certain villages for the offerings of God Tiruveṅgaḷanātha with the consent of the *śeṭṭi paṭṭaṇasvāmis* (presiding merchants) of the villages and the *mahānāḍu* (general assembly).[60] Similarly one Kampadēva Aṇṇa, an officer of Acyuta Rāya, is said to have made a gift of some duties on crops and of the fee on marriages with the

58. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 107.
59. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
60. 681 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1923, para 83.

consent of the *nānādēśi* merchants.[61] They also levied certain customs and taxes of a local character. They levied tolls on markets for instance, and granted them to temples. According to an inscription of A.D. 1534 the local merchants collected tolls at the market held every Sunday in the hamlet of Viśvēśvaradēvapura belonging to Lepākṣi and in the Harunāḍu and Hōsūrunāḍu and a few other customs which they granted to a temple.[62]

These guilds had the right to confer certain honours on some highly placed officials. For example the members of the *nakara parivāra* and *mummuridaṇḍa* "together with their three hundred Billa dependents and with the collection of the Holeyas of Vijayanagar having placed the diamond *vaisaṇige* in the presence of the holy lotus feet of the God Virūpākṣa, and sitting down, having agreed among themselves, conferred the mayoralty of the earth (*Pṛthviśeṭṭitana*) on Muddayya Daṇṇāyaka, who was the officer for superintendence of the customs of our fifty-six countries." [63]

The guilds enjoyed the right to make certain regulations even of a social and religious character for their members. According to an inscription in the Tiptūr taluk of the Tumkūr district for instance a number of *Śeṭṭis* from Bāgūr made some regulations in A.D. 1449 (?) regarding women who lapsed from marriage.[64] But unfortunately the inscription is incomplete and we are not able to make anything out of this interesting fragment.

They also exercised great influence over the policy of the government. They at times made petition to the government to do a particular thing which was done. Thus when the great *Vaḍḍebyavahāri,* chief of (both sects) *Nānādēśis* Arjju bhaṭṭayya's son Mahādēvaṇa made petition to Bukkaṇṇa Voḍeyār saying "Make Lakṣmīpura......in Caṅganāḍ," the king issued an order to his chief minister Sōvappa who executed the order with the help of the farmers of Navile, Haṇḍaraṅge, Pōsanāḍ, Allālapaṭṭaṇa and other places.[65]

61. 679 of 1922 ; *Rep.*, 1923, para 83.
62. 570 of 1912 ; see also No. 1 of Sewell's list.
63. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75.
64. *E.C.*, XII, Tp. 86.
65. *E.C.*, V, Ak. 68.

SECTION IV

The Temple

Another institution that played an important part in the local administration was the temple. Besides being the centre of religious life and practices, the mediaeval temple had certain economic and political functions. It was a landlord and employer. The temple authorities were at times judges in certain cases. The temple treasury was a bank which lent money to the people in times of need. The temples were promoters of rural industries and handicrafts. In all these directions the mediaeval South Indian temple contributed much for the social good.

The temples were maintained both by royal benefaction and public patronage. The kings constructed the temples and endowed lands for their maintenance, and such lands were called *devadāna* and at times *devadāya* lands. The royal patronage took the form of either grant of lands as a *sarvamānya* to be enjoyed by the temples in perpetuity or gift of specified taxes payable to the government by the people of the locality, which the temple authorities were permitted to collect for the support of their temples. Thus under the orders of Kampaṇa his minister Viṭṭappar made a grant of Māḍambākkam to the temple of Śērvai Āḷuḍaiya Nāyaṉār. The inscription states: "This village, the whole village, which is the sacred holding of this God, limited by its four boundaries, including the village waste, wet lands, and garden lands with all its limitations of communal obligations, fees on cotton looms, obligations for maintaining oil mills, etc., fees for maintaining village servants and other similar obligations new or old, which may hereafter become due from each tenant, we have given for worship and repairs as *sarvamānya* grant to the temple in order that it may last till the Sun and Moon exist."[66] Kṛṣṇadēva remitted 10,000 *varāhas* being the income from the *jōḍi, araśupēṟu* and *śūlavari* in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam.[67] The temples themselves collected these taxes. Here as in the case of the village assemblies, a distinction has to be drawn between the taxes levied and collected by the temple authorities in certain villages independently of the central authority and the taxes and other income

66. 324 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 49.

67. 74 of 1903; 125 of 1904; 511 of 1905; 355 of 1907; 167 of 1925; 184 of 1925; 226 of 1925; 214 of 1926; etc.

collected by them with the sanction or under instructions from the government. In the former case the taxes collected were in the nature of customary dues payable to the landlord by the tenant, while in the latter case the right of collecting certain taxes and dues payable by the people to the government was made over to the temple for its benefit. Thus Dēva Rāya II issued for instance a *nirūpa* or order to Śrīgirinātha of Candragiri asking him to remit the *jōḍi* of 131 *poṉs* and 6¼ *paṇams* or 13,16¼ *paṇams* at 10 *paṇams* per *poṉ* due to the Candragiri rājya from Tiruppukkuḻi in order that that amount might be utilised for the temple of Porēṟṟuperumāḷ of that place.[68] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's remission of certain taxes in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḻamaṇḍalam was also of this type.[69]

Sometimes the temple authorities acted as protectors of the interests of the temple tenants, and it was through them that the temple tenants and other people in the locality represented their grievances to the government when the government officers pursued an oppressive policy. According to an inscription of the time of Dēva Rāya II at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, the *Māhēśvaras* of the temple complained to the king that the tenants, servants, and other residents of the village owned by the temple had been much distressed by the imposition of taxes such as *jōḍi*, *mugampārvai*, *aṅgaśālai*, *sambādam* and *viśeṣādāyam*, and also by the lease system introduced by government officers for adoption by the trustees. Thereupon it was ordered by the king that the above taxes together with the *ariśikāṇam*, good bull, good cow, *veṭṭi* and *kaṭṭāyam* should thereafter be collected by the *Māhēśvaras* of the temple, and that the leased lands already paid for be redeemed by money received from the royal treasurer.[70]

The temple authorities like the village assembly had the right to sell the temple lands and purchase new lands under certain circumstances. According to an inscription dated A.D. 1442 the temple priests (*sthānikas*) of the Kurundamale temple in the Mālūr taluk of the Kōlār district granted to one Timmaṇṇa a *dharma śāsana* or a deed of sale in connection with the construction of a virgin tank named Siddasamudra in Kurundamale śīme for fifty *honnu*.[71] An

68. *M.E.R.*, 1916, *Rep.*, para 60.
69. 74 of 1903.
70. 226 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1913, para 54.
71. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 259.

epigraph at Tiruppanaṅgāḍu in the North Arcot district records that the temple authorities of the place sold some of the temple lands in order to repair breaches of the village tank because they had no funds, and because the lands under it remained uncultivated for a long time.[72] Similarly the treasury of Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār purchased as *uḻavukāṇi* two pieces of land which belonged to the temple in Paḍaipaṟṟu *alias* Tēperumāḷnallūr and which remained uncultivated on account of its non-irrigable high level; the lands were reclaimed and brought under cultivation and were leased out for 200 *paṇams* per year by the temple.[73]

The temple authorities made regulations regarding the mortgage of the temple lands. Thus a record at Cintāmani in the South Arcot district registers an agreement between Kōnēṭi Ayyaṉ, the agent of Ubhayavēdāntācārya Eṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātācārya, the great men of Madurāntakam, and the temple treasurers that the *devadāna* lands which had recently been released from mortgage during the regime of Kōnēṭi Ayyaṅgār, must not be mortgaged again under any circumstance.[74]

In many cases the temple treasury served as a local bank, and helped the people when they were in distress; and when it was not able to realise the amount it had lent, it purchased the lands of the debtor to the extent necessary to wipe out the debt. According to an epigraph at Śēvalūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, the authorities of the temple of Tirubhūmīśam Uḍaiya-Nāyaṉār had lent three hundred *śakkara paṇams* to the *ūravar* of Tēnūru Vaḍappaṟṟu, who had taken the amount for the payment of *kāṇikkai*. But since they were not able to pay back the money borrowed, they sold some land to the authorities of the temple.[75] Similarly the temple treasury of Tiruvaraṅgulam, also in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, had given a loan to the residents of the villages of Pālaikkuḍi, Kalaṅgudi and Kiḻinallūr, and the owners of *pāḍikāval* rights in the said villages, for clearing up certain dues which they were otherwise unable to pay when asked to do so by Svāmi Narasā Nāyakkar. Sometime later in A.D. 1520 the residents and the owners of *pāḍikāval* rights sold some land to the temple authorities for the money they had taken as loan from the temple trea-

72. 251 of 1906.
73. 258 of 1919.
74. 408 of 1922.
75. *I.P.S.*, 723.

sury.[76] Thus the temples served as banks lending money to the people.

The trustees of the temples also acted as judges and decided cases. We have already examined for instance how the trustees of the temple of Tirukkaḻikuṉṟamīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Tirukkaḻikkuṉṟam in the Chingleput district decided a case of theft in the temple.[77]

The temples maintained hospitals for the convenience of the people. An epigraph of A.D. 1493 at Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinopoly district refers to the existence of a hospital (*ārōgyaśālai*) in the temple at the place, and to the shrine of Dhanvantari, the divine physician.[77a]

Another aspect of the activities of the temples in the Vijayanagar days that deserves mention here was the encouragement they gave to small industries. Speaking about the local communities in India, Sir George Birdwood remarks: "The village communities have been the stronghold of the traditionary arts of India, and where these arts have passed out of the villages into the wide world beyond, the caste system of the code of Manu has still been their best defence against the taint and degradation of the foreign fashions."[78] His remarks apply to the temples as well, for they gave great encouragement to small industries. The authorities of the temple of Perunagar in the Chingleput district for instance sold twenty grounds of land in the *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam* of the local temple which had been lying waste since the days of Śambuvarāya to some weavers for their settlement the proceeds being utilised for repairs and ornaments.[79] According to another record in the same place they reduced certain taxes due from the weavers of Perunagar as a concession for their resettlement in their original possessions which they had left without paying their dues.[80] An inscription at Manampāḍi registers the lease deed (*aḍai ōlai*) given to the weavers to settle in a street on the temple land of Vānavasundara Nāyaṉār on certain conditions regarding taxes due from them to

76. *I.P.S.*, 733.
77. 185 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 479; see *ante*, p. 125.
77a. *E.I.*, XXIV, p. 90.
78. *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 137.
79. 368 of 1923.
80. 370 of 1923.

the temple.[81] Thus the temples encouraged handicrafts and industries to a large extent.

A right which the temples enjoyed was that of conferring honours on particular individuals. When one Acyutappa Nāyaniṁgāru made a gift of fourteen villages, remitted the taxes *jōḍi, virāda, karaṇika* and a few others on twenty-eight other villages in favour of the temple of Ādivarāha Perumāḷ at Śrīmuṣṇam in the South Arcot district, set up the images of Manavāḷa, Śūḍikoḍutta Nācciyār and other Āḻvārs in the temple, reclaimed several lands of the temple at his own expense, cleared forests for fields, dug irrigation canals, constructed tanks and planted groves and made many presents of jewels to the God and provided for twelve musicians and 360 servants for service in the temple, the members of the *Śrī-bhaṇḍāra* of the temple gave him the office of *nirvāha* and *samprati* permitting him to put a seal along with the others in the store room of the temple, to own the *talārika* of the town of Śrīmuṣṇam and the villages belonging to it, and to be the protector of the images of the Gods in the sacred *bhaṇḍāra*.[82]

Similarly by order of king Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his subordinate officer Narasiṁha Rāya Mahārāya, the *tānattār* or managers of the temple at Tirupati granted a house and certain honours to Vyāsarāya Tīrtha Śrīpāda Voḍeyār.[83] The Śrīmuṣṇam inscription above referred to indicates that the temple had also certain police functions which it transferred to certain individuals, for such *pāḍikāval* rights were coveted by the local institutions and private citizens alike.

SECTION V

Local Compacts

At certain periods of Vijayanagar history when the central government was not strong enough to put down centrifugal tendencies, we see the influential people of a locality making compacts among themselves to strengthen their position and to prevent any encroachment on their rights and privileges by outsiders. This activity on the part of the people for the preservation of their rights

81. 381 of 1923.
82. 270 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 73.
83. *M.A.R.*, 1921, para 87.

was not without a good side to it. For though it was a clear proof of the decay of the central government, still it brought together for a common purpose different classes of the people who had been on unfriendly terms since very early times, and now agreed to give up their enmity and live on friendly terms. Thus in A.D. 1419-20 during the time of Vīra Rāyaṇṇa Uḍaiyār, son of Bhūpati Uḍaiyār, a compact was signed between Naraśiṅga dēva Uḍaiyār of Pērāmbūr and his followers on the one hand and the residents of Kiḻaikuṟicci on the other. The terms of the agreement were as follows: "Whereas there existed great enmity between us from the time of Śemar Naraśiṅgadēva up to the time of Aḍaikkalam kātta Naraśiṅgadēva, hundreds of men on both sides have been killed and imprisoned; in the time of the last mentioned chief we met together and settled that henceforward we ought not to act contrary to the interests of each other on account of this long existing enmity." They even agreed to look upon the enemy of anyone of the above villages as their common enemy. It was declared that those who acted otherwise would sin against the God of Nāṅgupaṭṭi. The compact was arrived at before the residents of Teṉmalai, Kīranūr, Puduvayal, and Muduśoṟkuḍi ".[84] In the same period we see such mutual agreements being signed by influential people in the South Canara district. In Ś. 1412 (wrong) Kīlaka, one Dēvaraḍiya *alias* Kunda Heggaḍe and another Kinnikka Heggaḍe entered into in the presence of God Mahāliṅga at Yellūru to live amicably for ever without molesting each other's lands.[85] A few years later in Ś. 1421 (expired) Siddhārthi, one Saṅkarādi Huṇḍa Heggaḍe and another Tirumala Araśa Madda Heggaḍe made a compact of mutual fidelity and agreed to render faithful service at all times against the enemies attacking Yēlūru and Kāpu.[86] There are a large number of similar epigraphs which record such agreements for mutual help and for giving up old animosities.[87] Such local arrangements as these seem to have been a result of the confusion of the politics at Vijayanagar in the last years of the reign of Virūpākṣa. In such periods as these no reference is made to the central authority.[88] But such local arrangements were very useful inasmuch as they ensured peace in the local areas and relieved

84. 344 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 106; *I.P.S.*, 698.
85. 393 of 1927-28.
86. 392 of 1927-28.
87. For a few others see 385, 386, 391, etc., of 1927-28.
88. *M.E.R.*, 1927-28, *Rep.*, para 57.

the central government of a great deal of responsibility for the maintenance of law and order.

SECTION VI

Minor Local Officers and Dignitaries

It remains for us to examine here the functions of a few local officers who were a link between the imperial government and the local authorities.

The first among such officers that deserve notice is the *Pārupatyagār.* The term *Pārupatyagār* means an executive officer or a superintendent of works. He was generally a representative of the king or of a provincial governor in a particular locality and carried out some of the important executive functions of the government. He was the chief tax collector in a particular locality; he was in charge of the repair and maintenance of forts; he was the trustee of the grants made by the king. As the king's representative in the local areas the *Pārupatyagār* was the authority to whom royal communications were generally sent. When for instance a local ruler made a *sarvamānya* grant he communicated the order to one Pārupatya Periya Kēśava Nāyaka who was doubtless an officer in the locality in which the grant was made.[89]

An epigraph dated A.D. 1423 refers to a *Pārupatyagār* who was placed in charge of certain grants of lands in a particular locality and specifies the allowance that was sanctioned to him.[90] Cikka Nañjayya, the *Pārupatyagār* of Terakanāmbi, was ordered in A.D. 1504 to pay from certain export duties from a few villages a car tax for expenses on the occasion of the car-festival in the temple.[91] In A.D. 1542 in the Seringapatam territory we hear of a *Pārupatyagār,* Kāmappa Nāyaka by name, collecting certain customs and taxes which did not exist earlier.[92] In 1508 an order was issued that whoever held the *Pārupatya* of a particular village in the Bāgepalli taluk of the Kōlār district was to build a half fort.[93] The *Pārupatyagār* undertook to do certain works of public utility for

89. 52-A of *S.I.I.*, IV ; No. 52-A in *S.I.I.*, V, p. 516.
90. E.C., VIII, Tl. 2.
91. *E.C.*, IV, Gu. 5.
92. *E.C.*, III, Sr. 6.
93. *E.C.*, X, Bp. 85.

the convenience of the people. Thus one Rāmayya who held the *Pārupatya* of the Durggāgrahāra in the Yēlandūr Jāgir in A.D. 1532 caused the sacred pond to be built with stone after excavating the earth and making the necessary repairs.[94] During the period of a great famine when the price of all grains had risen to seven *māna* per *haṇa* in the Cāmarājnagar taluk of the Mysore district and men ate men, the *Pārupatyagār* Kempiṇa Liṅgana Oḍeyār Dēva had a well repaired with the help of Kāle Mallikārjuna.[95] He also formed new villages. The *Pārupatyagār* of the Bāgūr śīme, on a petition from Narasimmaiya of the customs, had a *pēṭhe* built, named it Kṛṣṇāpura and populated it.[96]

It appears he had much to do with the village officers. We are led to think so from an incomplete record at Kottapalle in the Anantapur district which appears to record some order of the *Pārupatyagār* (whose name is lost) of the Kundrupi śīme to Malika Ayyaji Voḍayaru, Paraśurāma Paṇḍitaru, the officer at Pērūru, the *Gaude*, *Sēnāpatya* and the farmers of the village.[97]

Till about the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya the *Pārupatyagār* appears to have exercised some control over the administration of the temple. But with regard to a particular temple in the Chamrajnagar taluk Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya ruled as follows: "All grants are to be taken care of by Allappa, the agent of the temple of the God. He will take possession of them, and, appointing such temple servants as he wishes, will continue the temple services from time to time; the *Pārupatyagār* has no authority to enquire into the affairs of the temple. Allappa will be the agent of the temple and no one else."[98] We do not know if this ruling of the emperor affords only an instance of his general policy of separating the temple management from the general administration, or it was only a particular case which required such a ruling. His views on this interesting question are expressed in his *Āmuktamālyada;* there he deprecates the employment of a collector of revenue for the management of charities given over to temples, Brahmans and the like, lest that should tempt him to make up the losses in his revenue collections from these sources; and he suggests that a special officer

94. *E.C.*, IV, Yl. 45.
95. *Ibid.*, Cn., 108.
96. *E.C.*, XI, Hk. 112.
97. 358 of 1926.
98. *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 99.

must be appointed to supervise the charities.[99] It is therefore reasonable to assume that this order of the king taking away the temple management from the *Pārupatyagār* and handing it over to another individual, who appears to have had no other duty in the state, was only an illustration of how he translated his theories into practice.

Another important officer who was much in evidence in the Vijayanagar days was the *Adhikāri.* He appears to have been a "Special Officer" appointed in some important cities and villages. It is difficult to say if all the important cities and villages in the empire had each an *Adhikāri,* for we have only a few stray references to this officer. But since we have an epigraph of A.D. 1408 which registers some provision made by the *Adhikāri* and *jagattumunūru* (village assembly) of Niruvāra in South Kanara for daily offerings to the deity,[100] we may take it that many important villages had each an *Adhikāri*; but his functions and importance appear to have varied from place to place and time to time.

As an officer of the government his presence was necessary for the execution of documents. According to a copper-plate grant in the South Kanara district a partition deed was executed in the presence of Mahāpradhāna Male (Mallaya) Daṇṇāyaka and Gōpaṇṇa, the *Adhikāri* of the village.[101] Grants made by individuals had to be confirmed by this important officer. It was not always that he did so himself, for at times he asked his subordinates to discharge this function perhaps owing to pressure of work. For instance Dēva Vāru Īśvara Nāyaka, the Betamaṅgala *Adhikāri,* and another officer, whose exact functions we are not able to know, issued an order to one Narasiṅga Rāja Voḍeyār to confirm the grant of lands by one Sōmeyadēva to Caṇḍēśvara which order was immediately carried out.[102] It appears, however, that this officer could not make grants himself without the consent and co-operation of certain groups and associations which had a semi-political character in those days. A copper-plate from the South Kanara district discloses the interesting information that in A.D. 1556 one Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda Heggaḍe, the chief of Kāp, made a grant of land in the village of Mailāra with the consent of the assembly (*nalina-*

99. Canto IV, v. 218.
100. 498 of 1928-29.
101. *M.E.R.*, Cp., 16 of 1928-29.
102. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 253.

vāru), communal and professional guilds (*gaṇa paṇa*) and subordinate officers (*sāmanta*).[103] Thus in the areas where communal corporations existed the *Adhikāri's* power to act independently seems to have been limited. Yet he had onerous duties and was a high dignitary in the local areas.

Here mention may be made of the Governor of Vijayanagar of whom both Paes and Nuniz speak. Gauḍarāja, the brother of Sāḷuva Timma, was the Governor of the capital.[104] He seems to have been a person of some consequence and hence he was able to show round the palace and other buildings to Paes and his friends. He appears to have had certain military obligations to discharge, and hence when Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya led his expedition to Raicūr, he followed the king with an army consisting of 30,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 10 elephants.[105]

Another officer or group of officers that enjoyed the right to co-operate with the assembly in its work was generally known as the *Tantrimār*. It is difficult to say who they were. In the modern day a class of temple priests are known as *Tantris* in Malabar. But the inscriptions which refer to the *Tantrimār* as acting with the village assembly in its work are largely to be found in the Tamil districts, and hence it is not possible that the Malabar *Tantris* could have been meant by the term *Tantrimār*. Further according to a record at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi in the South Arcot district dated Ś. 1459, the temple authorities and the *Tantrimār* of the village made an agreement among themselves about the rehabilitation of a village by one Śittama Nāyaka.[106] Here if the *Tantrimār* had anything to do with the temple administration or temple service, then it would be difficult to see why an agreement should be made between these two sets of people. But the term *tantrin* means also a soldier in which case our *Tantrimār* can refer to certain classes of people from whom men for the military were recruited. In the Tinnevelly district there are found a few Pāṇḍyan epigraphs which refer to a community of military classes (*Paḍaikkāṇvar*) whose leaders were known as *daṇḍanāyakam śeyvār*. As the government epigraphist says "in some cases the big community of military classes (*perumbaḍaiyōm*) with their ten commands are

103. *M.E.R.*, Cp. 8 of 1921-22.
104. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
106. 48 and 49 of 1916.

mentioned and are stated to have belonged to the *tantra* or *mahā-tantra.*"[107]

But it is difficult to say if the *Tantrimār* of the Vijayanagar days had anything to do with these military groups, for it is impossible that these men could have had much to do with the local administration. *Tantra* also means government in which case we can take the term *Tantrimār* to refer to the officers of the government in the local areas who controlled the working of the village assemblies and other local organisations. This interpretation of the word indicates fully the functions they discharged. It appears that the village assemblies could not by themselves do a particular thing, but had to get the sanction of the government for many of their acts. This put a check on the otherwise absolute independence of the local assemblies. Thus the *nāṭṭār* and the *Tantrimār* of Karaippōkkunāḍu made a *sarva-mānya* gift of land in Kāraiyūr to the temple of Tiruttūṅgāṉai-māḍam Uḍaiya Mahādēva.[108] The same group of *Tantrimār* along with the same assembly made another grant of certain taxes on lands in Teṉkarai Śiṟukūḍalūr for worship and repairs to the temple of Teṉkaṟatturai Nelvāy. Thus these *Tantrimār* appear to have been government officers in the local areas.

Another officer who was variously known as *Nāṭṭunāyagam śeyvār* or simply *Nāṭṭunāyakkar* meaning superintendent of a *nāḍu* was a person of some consequence. But though he is referred to in the inscriptions as an important officer in the *nāḍu*, yet we do not know much about his exact functions nor are we able to say definitely whether he was a royal officer in the *nāḍu* or simply an influential person in the locality vested with certain honorary powers by the government. According to a record of A.D. 1346, Harihara Oḍeyār and Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyār granted to Vaiyaṇṇaṉ Kōmuppaṉ, the superintendent over the Tēkal nāḍu, Mādarai-śānapaḷḷi belonging to the same *nāḍu* as a *kuḍaṅgai* exempt from taxes. He was allowed to grow any crop he pleased on all the dry and wet lands of the village excluding former gifts, and he was entitled to receive all the taxes (specified) in perpetuity.[109] We have a few more references to this important dignitary. A record

107. *M.E.R.*, 1917 *Rep.*, para 11 and 1918, *Rep.*, para 43; see also K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 238-39.
108. 261 of 1928-29.
109. *E.C.*, X, Mr. 39.

of A.D. 1379 mentions that the *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Soṇṇaiya Nāyakar's son Aṅkaya Nāyaka was the superintendent over the Noṇḍaṅguḻi nāḍu.[110]

The *Gauḍike* and the *Sthalagauḍike* were two other offices in the local areas.[111] But it is difficult to understand the difference between the two offices unless we assume that the *Sthalagauḍa* was a higher dignitary and his functions extended over the whole of the *sthala*, while an ordinary *Gauḍa* was a smaller dignitary and his functions were confined to the village over which he was appointed. Such offices as these seem to have been conferred on a few people for certain services rendered by them to the government. According to an inscription of about A.D. 1533, the Mahānāyakācārya Harati Aimaṅgala Tippala Nāyakācārya granted to Vadda Irāṇa Bōva through Bālaṇa Gauḍa of Kaṇḍahaḷḷi a hamlet of the Dharmapura *sammat* a few presents and the *Sthalagauḍike* of the village for having expended 250 *gadyānas* and erected four high towers for the Kandehaḷḷi fort.[112] A few years later in 1547 the same man was given the *Sthalagauḍike* over the village of Sūgūr for having constructed four towers to the fort of the place at a cost of 200 *varāhas*.[113] Similarly in A.D. 1634 Kōlavanhaḷḷi Immaḍi Raṇa Baire Gauḍarāya gave a *Sthalagauḍike* to one Giḍa Gauḍa with the former *mānya, āya, ṣvāmya, baṭu, bōṭu* and nine hamlets.[114] It appears that these *Gauḍas* could make grants for the merit of certain officers. Thus an epigraph of A.D. 1537 records that Cokkaya Gauḍa of Uliyarahaḷḷi made a grant of land for the merit of *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Hebbare Nāyaka's son Bayicaya Nāyaka.[115] We also hear of the *Nāḍu gauḍa* whose functions however we are unable to make out.[116] It appears that these offices could be sold by their respective holders.[117]

110. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 50; for a few other references see *E.C.*, X, Mb. 190; *E.C.*, IX, An. 28; *M.A.R.*, 1913-14, para 93.

111. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that the word *Gauḍa* is the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit term *Grāmādhya*. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 398, *fn.* 27; *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 344 *fn.*)

112. *E.C.*, XI, Hr. 36.

113. *Ibid.*, Hr. 39.

114. *E.C.*, XII, Mi. 43.

115. *M.A.R.*, 1913-14, para 111.

116. *M.A.R.*, 1925, No. 5.

117. *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 48.

Similarly we hear about a *Sēnabōva* of a particular village and the *Sēnabōva* of a particular *nāḍu*. Thus the *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Cikka Kallaya Nāyaka and all the farmers of Kadagoḍi sthala made a grant to the *Sēnabōva* of the Sani kingdom.[118] The *Nāḍ-sēnabōva* appears to have been in charge of the revenue register of the *nāḍu*. According to a record of A.D. 1589 one Vīraiya of Hiriyūr was the *Sēnabōva* or accountant of 185 villages.[119] The *Karaṇika* or *Sēnabōva* of a larger area seems to have been appointed by the king. We are led to infer this from the details contained in an inscription which records the bestowal of the office of accountant on a certain individual by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[120]

A dignitary who was much in evidence in the Vijayanagar days was the *Madhyastha* or the mediator. He appears to have been an influential person in the local areas, and when any sale of land was effected he fixed the price. It is possible that he was authorised to do so by the government. Thus when one Viṭṭappa sold his lands to one Suṅgaṇṇa, the son of Naraśivadēva of Bēlūr, for 30 *hon* the price was fixed by arbitration.[121] Similarly when in A.D. 1406 one Jakkaṇṇa Heggaḍe of Honnahole and a few others sold some of their lands to one Nimbarasa the price of the lands was fixed by arbitrators.[122]

The *Mahānāḍprabhu* and the *Nāḍyajamān* are two other local dignitaries that attract our notice. It appears that what the *Paṭṭaṇasvāmi* was in the towns the *Mahānāḍprabhu* was in the rural areas. The *Prabhu* of a *nāḍu* seems to have been at times the headman of some village. Thus one Śaṅkaṇṇa, the headman of the Pithamaṇe village, the first in the Kupatūr Twenty-six of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Malunāḍ was the *Prabhu* of the *nāḍ*.[123] The grant of these offices lay generally with the king. In 1645 the *Prabhutvam* of Kollāla śīme for instance was conferred on Boggavasayya by king Śrī Raṅga Rāya.[124] From an epigraph in the Bangalore district we learn how these headmen (*Yajamāns*) were remunerated. A record of A.D. 1527 records the grant of a field of the sow-

118. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 147.
119. *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 113.
120. *Ibid.*, 1920, para 87.
121. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 134.
122. *E.C.*, VI, Sg. 26.
123. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 265.
124. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 75.

ing capacity of half *khaṇḍuga* to Bayirappa Nāyakkaṉ by all the *nāḍ gauḍas* of Vijayapura in consideration of his holding the office of *Yajamān* (headmanship) of the *nāḍu*. But we do not know if these dignitaries received any other remuneration for their services.[125]

In the Tamil inscriptions there appears a dignitary with the designation *Periyanāṭṭuvēḷāṉ*. We are again at a loss to know the exact functions he discharged. But we hear of him in connection with the attesting of documents. This officer put his signature to an agreement with the consent of the *ūravar* of the Tiruviḍaiyāttam villages in two *nāḍus*.[126] When the king Bhūpati Uḍaiyār was pleased to revive an old grant of certain sources of income to the temple of Poṉṉambalanātha at Tiruveṇṇainallūr in the South Arcot district made formerly by the *nāṭṭār*, and gave a deed to that effect, it was signed by three persons: (1) Tirumunaippāḍi-nāṭṭuvēḷāṉ, (2) Periyanāṭṭuvēḷāṉ of Magadaimaṇḍalam, and (3) Periyanāṭṭuvēḷāṉ of Iruṅgōḷappāḍināḍu.[127] The government epigraphist remarks here : " These people set their signatures to the deed probably in token of consent as the representatives of the *nāḍu* (district) people who had given the original deed to the temple trustees."[128]

But it appears that the rendering of the term *Periyanāṭṭuvēḷāṉ* into the representative of the *nāḍ* people is rather strained. *Vēḷāṉ* means an agriculturist, and hence this term does not indicate that he was in any way connected with the district people or the assembly. But the name *Periyanāṭṭuvēḷāṉ* indicates that it was the Tamil rendering of the term *Mahānāḍprabhu*. In fact no better translation can be suggested. Thus he also appears to have been a local dignitary of some consequence. But it is not possible to say anything with certainty about the nature of the functions many of these local dignitaries discharged. The evidence at our disposal is still too scanty to be of any help to solve many of these questions.

125. *M.A.R.*, 1925, No. 5.
126. *T.T.D.I.*, No. 201.
127. *M.E.R.*, 1922, *Rep.*, para 44.
128. *Ibid.*

PART II

SOCIAL LIFE

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIETY

SECTION I

Castes and Communities in the Empire

The vast empire of Vijayanagar was composed of a large number of communities and social groups. The traditional four castes had each multiplied into various sub-castes and communities, many of them quarrelling among themselves for particular rights and privileges often customary in nature.

The establishment of a strong central government at the capital and the rigid control it exercised even over the outlying parts of the empire resulted in the appointment of special officers or agents over those areas. The Vijayanagar sovereigns appointed Karnāṭaka and Telugu generals as the viceroys of provinces and rulers of districts; and they took with them a large retinue even to the distant parts of the empire. As observed earlier such colonisation of the provinces by a particular community made for important changes in the community itself and in the localities concerned. Linguistic differences also played a prominent part in this development.

The caste of a particular individual came to be generally determined by his calling, though the calling might with equal truth be said to depend on the community to which he belonged. Thus there were in the Vijayanagar empire as many castes as there were professions. Even so, certain communities were divided into minor sects. For example the artisans were divided into five classes each pursuing a particular profession.

As orthodox Hindus themselves and as followers of an orthodox Hindu tradition, the Vijayanagar kings felt it their duty to protect the institution of caste or *varṇāśramadharma* especially in view of the Muhammadan invasions. The sovereigns and their subjects felt that a tightening of the bond of union among themselves was quite essential for preserving their religion, for, according to them, the caste system was inextricably interwoven with religion. The anxiety of the rulers of Vijayanagar to maintain the social solidarity of the Hindus is clearly seen in the titles they assumed, such as:

The supporter of the four castes and orders,[1] protector of the *Varṇāśramadharma*,[2] upholder of the duties of all castes,[3] etc. Since the four castes had become divided into a large number of sub-castes and communities, and since all of them were protected by the State, some of the Vijayanagar kings took the title of 'the protector of all the castes in the empire.'[4] The interest of the kings in maintaining the social solidarity of the four castes is seen in the concluding verses of the *Jāmbavatī-kalyāṇam* of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya where the royal poet says:

> Dharmam pādacatuṣṭayena kṛtavat sthairyam samālam batām
> Cāturvarṇyam upaitu karma satatam svasvādhi-kāro-citam |
> Śeṣakṣmādharanāyakasya kṛpayā saptārṇavīmadhyagām
> Rakṣan gāmiha Kṛṣṇarāyanṛpatir jīyāt sahasram samāḥ ||[5]

Brahmans:

As in ancient India, so in the Vijayanagar days, the most respected member in society was the Brahman. Almost every foreign traveller who visited the Vijayanagar court was struck by the respect the Brahman commanded and the simple life he led. Abdur Razāk remarks: "The Brahmans are held by him (Dēva Rāya II) in higher estimation than all other men."[6] Paes says that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya paid much honour and held the Brahmans in great favour.[7] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya too says: "Charity is for the protection of the *Dvijas*."[8] The Brahmans enjoyed certain special privileges; and they were not liable to be put to death whatever crime they committed.[9] Hence it is, according to the story of Nuniz, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya did not put to death Sāḷuva Timma for his alleged murder of Tirumala.[10]

1. *E. I.*, III, p. 125.
2. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 11.
3. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 32.
4. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 14.
5. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 143.
6. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 105.
7. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 246; for the observation of Nuniz see *ibid.*, p. 390.
8. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 276.
9. *Barbosa*, I, p. 217.
10. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

Though members of the sacerdotal class, the Brahmans were found in almost every walk of life. A few of them were priests and were attached to temples. Speaking about them Paes says: "Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death."[11] Some were owners of estates and lived upon the fruits which they got from their lands.[12] A few others took to trade and settled down as merchants, while still others remained as the inmates of monasteries which possessed good revenues.[13] The latter spent a large part of their time in serious study and contemplation.

Though many of them led such peaceful lives, some were active politicians, administrators and generals. The history of the empire is full of instances to show that there was a line of efficient Brahman ministers who largely guided the destinies of the vast empire. Mādhava and Sāyaṇa were Brahmans who were able ministers under Bukka I and Harihara II. Vīra Vasanta Mādhava who extended the empire in the West up to Goa was a Brahman. During the days of Dēva Rāya I and Dēva Rāya II the Brahmans retained their unique place in society; among them mention may be made of Viṭṭhaṇṇa Uḍaiyār and Annamārādhya. And during the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya we see a large number of able Brahmans occupying positions of importance in the state. A few of them that deserve mention here are Sāḷuva Timma, Nādeṇḍla Gōpa Mantri, Sāḷuva Gōvinda Rāja, Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasu, Timmarasu, Ayyapparasu, Karaṇika Maṅgarasayya, Bācarasayya, Karaṇika Lakṣmīnārāyṇa, and Sāḷuva Narasiṅgarāya Daṇṇāyaka *alias* Śellappa.

This is well borne out by the testimony of Van Linschoten who writes about the Brahmans thus: "The Brahmans are the honestest and most esteemed Nation among the Indian Heathens; for they doe alwaies serve in the chiefest places about the King as Receivers, Stewards, Ambassadors and such like Offices. They are of great authority among the Indian people, for that the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent."[14] These Brahmans were called the *Niyōgis* in the Telugu districts.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 245; see also *Barbosa*, I, p. 217.
12. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 255-6.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya has certain interesting observations to make on why a Brahman should be appointed to such places of importance in the state. He says: "Because a Brahman would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or a Śūdra, it is always advisable for a king to take Brahmans as his officers."[15] In another place he says: "That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmans as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are followers of *Dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who make arrangements for storing in those fortresses tigers' cheese (pulijunnu ?) and other (rare) articles to last for a generation......who increase his treasures by multiplying his income and lessening expenditure, and by seeing that the people are without trouble......who see that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who give trouble only to his enemies."[16] Thus Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya insists upon the Brahmans being appointed to important governmental positions. Sometimes the *Rājagurus* followed the kings on their expeditions. Thus Vyāsa Rāya went to the south along with Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.[17] The evidence of epigraphy also shows how the Brahmans led contingents of the army to the battlefield. Thus one Āpatsahāyaṉ of Tirukkaḍiyūr took part in the Raicūr campaign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[18] The Brahmans maintained their high position and status in the social polity in the later period of Vijayanagar history also. A large number of grants were made to them and the ruling sovereigns paid them great respect.

The *Mahiśūra Narapati Vijaya*, a manuscript work of the seventeenth century, however, describes Rāma Rāja as having had anti-Brahmanical tendencies. The work states:

> Jāmātābhūn mahipālaḥ Rāma Rāya iti smṛtaḥ |
> Sa kāmavaśamāpannaḥ nityam dyūteca niṣṭhitaḥ ||
> Brāhmaṇānām gurūṇāmca nityam apriyam ātanot ||[19]

15. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 217.
16. *Ibid.*, canto IV, v. 261.
17. *Vyāsayogicaritram, Intro.*, xci-xcv, 40, of Sōmanātha referred to by Saletore, *op. cit.*, II, p. 126.
18. 47 of 1906; *Rep.*, 1907, para 59.
19. *M.A.R.*, 1907, para 53.

But such an estimate of Rāma Rāja seems to be exaggerated, for neither the contemporary inscriptions nor the literature and the chronicles of the period say anything about his anti-Brahmanical tendencies. The work is of a later date and hence not very reliable for a picture of Rāma Rāja. Further the author of the work appears to have been a Madhva disappointed in his expectations, and at the fact that Gōvinda Dēśika was replaced by Tātācārya in the exalted position of being the *guru* of the king. Obviously the author of the work was a partisan and wanted to paint Rāma Rāja in black colours on account of his preference to Tātācārya.

Vēmana, a poet of the seventeenth century,[20] says: "If a man still has in his heart the principles of a paraiar and yet scorns paraiars how should he become twice-born while devoid of every good quality? There is no greater sin than that of falsehood: this is an abomination perpetually in the mouth : what vagabonds are several who call themselves twice-born? The lords of the earth (*i.e.*, Brahmans) say 'We are pure ; we are learned in the scriptures ; ' they scorn all who are in their natural state. Truly the poorest palmer is better than such boasters."[21] But it must be noted that Vēmana being a moralist and reformer had scant regard for the institution of caste and the position the Brahmans held in the society. Hence it is doubtful if his testimony can be taken to reflect the general view of his time.

The Brahmans generally led very simple and pious lives in their villages, studying the Vedas and Śāstras, discussing abstruse philosophical subjects, and performing the daily rites the Brahmans were expected to do. About their dress, Linschoten says: "They goe naked, saving only that they have a cloth bound about their middles to hide their privie members. They weare sometimes when they go abroad, a thinne cotton linnen Gowne called cabaia lightly cast over their shoulders, and hanging down the grounds like some other Indians......Upon their heads they wear a white cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they never cut off, but weare it long and turned up as the women do."[22] The foreign travellers were also struck by the

20. See *The Verses of Vemana*, translated by Brown, Preface, p. iii.
21. *Ibid.*, Bk. III, vv. 164-166, pp. 170-171. In another place he says: "After going through all his studies and attaining consummate wisdom, after making nothing of divinity, the moment he (the Brahman) sees a fair woman he forgets all his sanctity." (*Ibid.*, v. 270, p. 200).
22. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 255-256.

sacred thread worn by the Brahmans and the ashes of "kowes excrements" with which they used "to dawbe their forehead and nose."[23] They wore also ear ornaments.

But certain traits in the character of some Brahmans evoked the resentment of the foreign travellers. Barbosa for instance says that they were great eaters and never worked except to eat well. He observes: "They will start at once on a six days' journey"[24] only to get a good meal.[25] Nuniz too remarks as follows: "The king always gives large sums in charity; in the palace there are always two or three thousand Brahmans who are his priests, and to whom the King commands to give alms. These Brahman priests are very despicable men; they always have much money and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check."[26] Though instances are not wanting to show that the Brahmans served the state as administrators and generals, a large majority of them led peaceful and contented lives and hence Paes remarks that "they have little stomach for the use of arms."[27]

The Vipravinōdins:

A marked feature of the social history of the later Vijayanagar period is the rise of a social consciousness among the different communities of the empire. It was a period when attempts were made by them for the evolution of social solidarity among themselves. Each community clamoured for certain special privileges and honours which were to mark it off from the others.

One such attempt was made by a class who were known as the Vipravinōdins. Brown thinks that they were a class of Brahman jugglers. But H. Krishna Śāstri points out that they were in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts no longer Brahmans but Śūdras, a phenomenon which he attributes to the demoralising effect of their occupation.[28] They were so widespread in the empire that an epigraph mentions them as living in Vidyānagara, Bedakōṭa,

23. Gasparo Balbi, Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, p. 148.
24. Twenty or twenty-four miles, Ramusio; eight leagues, Spanish.
25. *Barbosa*, I, p. 217.
26. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-80.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
28. *M.E.R.*, 1913, para 60. See N. Venkataramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, for yet another view of their origin and spread in the Vijayanagar empire.

Kaṭaka and Draviḍa dēśa.[29] A few of the inscriptions relating to them belong to the sixteenth century. In A.D. 1554-5 certain Vipravinōdins undertook to perform the Kārtikapūja of the God Hanumanta in the village of Raṅganahāḷu.[30] Two years later a few of them made a grant of their income from the village of Cinahōtūru for the *Dhanurmāsa* worship of the God Cennakēśava in the same village. [31] In 1556-57 a few of them belonging to various *śākhas* and *sūtras* made a gift of taxes to the *Mahājanas* of Cauḷuru.[32] It is curious that all these inscriptions should belong to the second half of the sixteenth century. But it is reasonable to assume that there was then some sort of a social upheaval for the betterment of a few classes in the social scale and among them the Vipravinōdins were one.

Artisans:

The next community that attracts our notice is that of the *Pāñcālas* or the artisans. It comprised the black-smiths, gold-smiths, brass-smiths, carpenters and idol makers. An inscription of the time of Dēva Rāya I states that there were seventy-four divisions among the *Pāñcālas*.[33] Its members were often fighting for certain rights and privileges. In A.D. 1525-26 one of the disputes between the gold-smiths and the black-smiths was decided at Āttūr in the Rāmnāḍ district and lands were assigned to them.[34] Similarly when in A.D. 1555 a quarrel arose between the cultivators and the *Pāñcālas*, it was decided by the Vēdānti Rāma Rājayapa, the 88 Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmans, Banadarasayya, the agent of Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rājayya, and Śenaba Śeṭṭi, the agent for the affairs of Rāmappayya. According to the decision the southern street of Bēlūr was fixed for the *Pāñcālas*, stones were put up at the four boundaries (specified) within which they were allowed to erect rows of houses, carry on their caste observances and make jewellery, enjoying in the temple of Cennigarāya the same privileges and positions as were granted to the *Pāñcālas* at the car

29. 694 of 1917.
30. 402 of 1920.
31. 403 of 1920.
32. 586 of 1912; for a grant to a temple for the merit of the Vipravinodins see 97 of 1912 and 395 of 1920.
33. 804 of 1917; the record is dated Ś. 100303. Hēviḷambi. The date is obviously undependable.
34. 44 of 1916.

festival in Vidyānagara. This decision was based on a previous one made by Rāma Rājayya Tirumala Rājayya.[35]

At a particular time the quarrels between them assumed such serious magnitude, that they separated from each other with the help of a piece of social legislation. The two inscriptions which refer to such a quarrel and its settlement at Kallaḍaikuricci in the Tinnevelly district in the first quarter of the seventeenth century "register a royal writ granted by Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura to the five sub-sects of the artisan community facilitating their separation from each other and the consequent dismemberment of the community. The reasons for this separation are not stated . . . . The order does not seem to have proceeded from the king himself, but to have been the result of the initiative taken by the sub-sects themselves......The writ was a privilege granted in the presence of Uḍankūṭṭam aṇaiñjāṉ or Uḍankūṭṭam Pāḍaganānaiñjāṉ Kulaśēkharaṉ Āśāri who was evidently the leader of the *Kaṇmāḷa* community."[36] The temple authorities at Brahmadēśam also declared the same for the benefit of their subordinates.

An interesting aspect of the social history of the Vijayanagar period lies in the fact that the various social groups in the empire vied with one another for getting certain social privileges and honours in public festivals and in temples. The artisans were no exception to this. In A.D. 1573 Veṅkaṭappa Nāyuḍu, the Secretary (*mudrakarta*), of Velugōṭi Timmappa Nāyaniṅgāru, the agent of Śrī Raṅga Rāya, made certain arrangements for showing respect during the festival days of Paḷḷikoṇḍanātha of Nellore to the *Pāñcāhaṇas* (the five classes of artisans) who came in the car as at Tirupati; and to the observance of this etiquette the *sthalakaraṇams*, *kāpus*, *seṭṭis*, and *Pāka Reḍḍis* (Reḍḍis of Pākanāḍu) were made to agree.[37] According to a record in the Udayagiri taluk Timma Rāju, son of Rāma Rāju Kōnēṭayya dēva, built a *gōpura* and *maṇṭapa* to God Raghunāyakalu. The inscription also records that when the car was passing along the streets, with the *naṭṭuvas* and servants inside the car, a member of the *Pāñcāhaṇas* wearing a cloth round the head and another loosely round the waist and having only a sandal mark between the eye-brows and not chewing betel, should go round in front of the car with a chisel

35. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 5.
36. 309 and 378 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917, para 55.
37. *Nel. Ins.*, II, Nl. 54.

a mallet, a nail and a sickle in his hands, and it also states that that formality was to be observed without failure.[38]

In the cyclic year Āṅgīrasa, during the time of Śrī Raṅgadēva Mahārāya (1632-33 ?), the *nāṭṭār* of the village of Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot district gave an undertaking to the *rājakārya-bhaṇḍāra* that the artisan communities (*Kaṉmāḷar*) carpenters, black-smiths and gold-smiths of the several villages in the northern *paṟṟu* (ward) would no more be treated ill, or deprived of their privileges, that the rights and privileges similar to those enjoyed by their classes in Paḍaivīḍu, Śeñji, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Kāñcīpuram would be accorded to them, and that, if they should violate the promise, they would pay a fine of twelve *poṉ* and suffer the twelve 'disgraces' (*kuṟṟams*) in consequence.[39] There were, however, a few other places where the artisans enjoyed certain privileges over and above what their brethren enjoyed elsewhere. Hence the *nāṭṭavar* of Iḍaiyāṟṟupaṟṟu, Siṟṟiṅgūr paṟṟu and Iḍaiyāṟu, who were represented by their respective chiefs Koṅgarāyar, Nayiṉār Kacciya Rāyar and Koṇḍamanāyakkar, gave an undertaking to the king through Kṛṣṇama Nāyakkar and Rāyasam Tirumalaiyaṉ that they would withdraw from the *Kaṉmāḷas* certain social privileges such as the use of *Pāvāḍai* and *Parivaṭṭam* hitherto enjoyed by them, and thus place them on the same status as their brethren at Paḍaivīḍu, Śeñji and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[39a]

Kaikkōḷas :

The Kaikkōḷas were another influential community in the Vijayanagar empire. They lived generally round the temple precincts, and it appears that they had separate streets. An inscription for instance at Māḍambākkam mentions the street of the Kaikkōḷas.[40] We have seen how the Kaikkōḷas had some voice in the temple administration and in the levy of the local taxes. As weavers they carried on their industry on a small scale. As the artisans, the Kaikkōḷas also clamoured for certain social privileges. The Kaikkōḷas of Kāñcīpuram and Viriñcipuram enjoyed the privilege of using *daṇḍu* (palanquin) and *śaṅgu* (conch). In A.D. 1485-86 the same privileges were extended to the Kaikkōḷas

38. *Ibid.*, III, Ud. 20; *M.E.R.*, 204 of 1892; V.R., *I.M.P.*, Nl. 771.
39. 65 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1922, para 54.
39a. 293 of 1928-29; *Rep.*, para 66.
40. 319 of 1911.

of Vaḻudilambaṭṭu rājya by Aramaḷatta Nāyiṉār in consultation with Koṅgarāyar, Kaṅgarāyar and Kaccirāyar.[41] It seems that a little before these privileges were granted to the Kaikkōḷas of Vaḻudilambaṭṭu rājya, the Kaikkōḷas of Kāñci were granted similar privileges in response to their representation to Aramaḷatta Nāyiṉār.[42] In 1503-04 the privileges of having ḍaṇḍu and śaṅgu 'on all good and bad occasions'[43] were extended to the Kaikkōḷas of the three villages of Tribhuvanamahādēviparṟu, Naḍuvukaṟai parṟu and Neṉmaliparṟu as the weavers of the country situated on the bank of the Peṇṇai river were privileged to have. The inscription which records this further specifies that those who objected to this right were to undergo the punishment fixed for it in an inscription engraved at Śeḷiṅganallūr.[44] Similarly during the time of Śūrappa Nāyaka, the agent of Sadāśiva in the Tiruvadi rājya, the Ilaivāṇiyar agreed to accord the same privileges and rights to the Kaikkōḷas of the place as were in vogue according to a previous stone inscription which had been effaced by some person.[45]

Barbers :

In the latter half of the sixteenth century the community of barbers received certain special privileges at the hands of the State. The exact reasons why the barbers were the objects of special favour from Sadāśiva and his minister are not known. An epigraph of 1545 states that Rāma Rāja Oḍeyār being pleased with the barber Koṇḍōja exempted the barbers of the country (Tumkūr district) from certain taxes.[46] Another epigraph of 1547-48 states that Timmōja Koṇḍōja and Bhadri of (the town of) Baḍāvi having propitiated the king, that ruler (Sadāśiva)

41. 162 of 1918 ; 473 of 1921 ; 291 of 1928-29 ; *Rep.*, 1929, para 62.

42. 422 of 1925 ; the date given here is evidently wrong. The epigraph is dated Ś. 1409 Viśvāvasu, Siṁha. The other two inscriptions already referred to state Viśvāvasu was current in Ś. 1407. Further according to 473 of 1921 and 291 of 1928-29 the Kaikkōḷas of Vaḻudilambaṭṭu rājya were given the privileges which had been granted to those of Kāñcīpuram and Viriñcipuram. This would show that the grant of privileges to the Kaikkōḷas of Kāñcī must have been earlier. Hence the date of the inscription is misleading.

43. The phrase 'on good and bad occasions' indicates that the communities had the right of exercising these privileges only on ceremonial occasions, auspicious or otherwise.

44. 368 of 1917 ; *Rep.*, 1918, para 70.

45. 41 of 1922. The Ilaivāṇiyars are a caste whose sole occupation is the cultivation of the betel creeper and selling of its leaves.

46. *E.C.*, XII, Tp. 126.

"in connection with a request they had made", granted them a tax as a *mānya*.[47] But another inscription of A.D. 1555 says that Timmoja Koṇḍōja made application to Rāma Rājayya who in turn applied to Sadāśiva, and he remitted to him and his family certain taxes within the four boundaries of his kingdom.[48] The Telugu poet Rudrayya says in his *Niraṅkuśopākhyānam* that he secured an interview with Sadāśiva through the influence of Koṇḍōju, a favourite barber of the king, who was instrumental in obtaining remission of the taxes imposed on them.[49] In such a remission were included, forced labour, fixed rent, land rent, *mahānavami* torches, *birada*, etc.[50]

Dombaras :

The Dombaras were a community of people who were generally acrobats. Foreign travellers like Abdur Razāk and Linschoten have left some account of them. They largely used tame snakes for earning money. They knew witchcraft and soothsaying. The Persian traveller describes how these acrobats played on bars and used domesticated elephants in their work. They gave great entertainment to the common people and nobles gathered at the

47. *I.A.*, X, p. 65.
48. *E.C.*, XI, Mk. 6.
49. *M.E.R.*, 1926., *Rep.*, para 43.
50. *E.C.* XI, Mk. 6. A large number of epigraphs refer to these remissions; *E.C.*, VI, Tk. 13 ; *Nel. Ins.*, II, Kn. 20 ; *E.C.*, XI, Hk. 110 ; 318 of 1905 ; 472 and 514 of 1906 ; 218 of 1913 ; 475 of 1915 ; 354 of 1920 ; 352 of 1926, etc. As remarked earlier the cause for such remissions is hard to find. It is generally said that Rāma Rāja was very much pleased with the barber Koṇḍōja for his skill in shaving the chin. (H. Krishna Śāstri, *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 198, *fn.* 5). Saletore, however, tries to give an explanation for the special predilection the king and the minister had for the barbers. He suggests that they might have helped in putting down the power and influence of the Kurumbars in the Karnāṭaka districts, and to support his contention he remarks that "the inscriptions dealing with the remissions centre round Bādāmi, and extend over a region which cover the Kalāḍgi, Chitaldroog and Tumkūr districts." But as we have seen taxes were remitted in favour of the barbers of many Tamil and Telugu districts as well. Such liberal remissions might have been made in their case also on the ground of their belonging to the same community. Saletore takes care to add: "future research may enable us to know the exact circumstances and the occasion which ushered in the barbers in the story of the Kurumbars." (*Soc. and Pol. Life*, Vol. II, pp. 47 and 48, *fn.* 1.)

capital for the *Mahānavami* festival.[51] Their houses were very small and low covered with straw, and were without windows. They contained mats of straw, fig leaves and earthen pots for cooking purposes. These acrobats sometimes agreed together and made certain grants to temples. According to an inscription of Ś. 1451, two members of the Dombara caste granted to the temple of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha the money which they had been getting every year as donation (*tyāgam*) from the villages. The members of the caste also made an agreement that they would not exhibit their performances in the villages.[52]

Right Hand and Left Hand Castes:

Many of the communities in the empire were divided into two groups known as the *Valaṅgai* and the *Iḍaṅgai* groups or Right hand and Left hand classes. A few inscriptions state that each group consisted of ninety-eight such sub-sects. Though we get the number of sects of each group, we do not know exactly what the ninety-eight sects were. But side by side with these, there is reference to groups of eighteen professional castes. Perhaps the ninety-eight sects were the sub-divisions of these eighteen castes. Buchanan, who visited Mysore towards the close of the eighteenth century, found the following castes to have constituted the Left hand and Right hand classes.

Left hand classes:

1. Pāñcāla.
2. Bēricetty merchants.
3. Devāṅga—a class of weavers.
4. Heganigaru—those who use two oxen in the mill.
5. Paliwānlu—two tribes of cultivators who are not of Karnāṭaka origin.
6. Bayidaru—hunters.
7. Mādigaru—tanners or shoe makers.

The Pāñcālas commanded the whole party; and the Mādigaru were the most active combatants in all disputes among the two divisions.

51. For a detailed account of their feats see Elliot, *Hist of Ind.*, IV, pp. 118-19; and Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 247-48.

52. 309 of 1926; *Rep.*, 1926, para 41.

Right hand classes:

1. Baṇajigaru of many trades.
2. Wodigaru—cultivators of the Śūdra caste and of Karnāṭaka extraction.
3. Jōtiphana—oilmakers who use one bull in mill.
4. Rangaru—Calico printers and tailors.
5. Ladaru.
6. Gujarati.

The question of the origin of these two groups has engaged the attention of many scholars, but no definite answer has been given to this interesting question. The difficulty of the problem is due to the fact that in each group there are found members of different castes, occupations, professions and trades, and curiously enough the Brahmans and a few other communities who can be brought under the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes kept themselves away from the pale of these two groups. To add to these there are different traditions with regard to their origin.

T. W. Ellis thinks that the intercourse with foreign nations had brought certain changes in the habits of a section of the people of South India on account of which the landed proprietors who were generally conservative, had a dislike for them. Such social dissensions brought about the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* classes, "the former including the whole of the agricultural tribes, who endeavour under a different order of things, to maintain their ancient pre-eminence, the latter including chiefly the trading and manufacturing tribes, who endeavour, and in modern days generally with success, to evade it."[53] Dr. Gustav Oppert is of opinion that it was the grouping of the industrialists versus the agriculturists, the former under the Jains, the latter under the Brahmans,[54] though the latter themselves kept aloof from these classes.

M. Srinivasa Ayyangar gives a few more theories. He thinks that the division of the society into these two groups was due either to the desire of the lower orders to rise in the social scale or the antipathy between the Jains and the Brahmans.[55] But

53. T. W. Ellis, *Kuṛal*, p. 44, quoted in the *Madras Journal of Lit. and Sci.*, 1887-88; *Org. Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha*, pp. 85 f.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
55. *Tamil Studies*, pp. 73, 92, 108; for the views of Dr. L. D. Barnett see *E.I.*, XV, p. 81.

though these considerations would have contributed a little to the division of the people into two groups, it was the question of certain privileges enjoyed on certain socio-religious occasions which were largely responsible for their quarrels. Speaking about the occasions when they quarrelled among themselves Abbe Dubois remarks: "Perhaps the sole cause of the contest is the right to wear slippers or to ride through the streets in a palanquin, or on horseback during marriage festivals. Sometimes, it is the privilege of being escorted on certain occasions by armed retainers, sometimes that of having a trumpet sounded in front of a procession, or of being accompanied by native musicians, at public ceremonies. Perhaps it is simply the particular kind of musical instrument suitable for such occasions that is in dispute; or it may be the right of carrying flags of certain colours or of certain devices during these ceremonies."[56]

The *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* classes living near Pondicherry quarrelled among themselves for certain privileges like the use of *śavalakkaḻi*, white umbrella, white horse and the five *sembus*.[57] Similarly the *Iḍaṅgai* and *Valaṅgai Kaifiyat* gives an interesting legend of the quarrels between them for certain social privileges like the right of the usage of a *garuḍa* banner, and how they were settled.[58]

56. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, I, p. 26.

57. Wilson, *Mac. Coll.*, p. 428. Account of the Iḍaṅgai and Valaṅgai Caste people, Taylor, *Tamil Local Tracts*.

58. Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 7. "This relates to the great dispute between the Vaiṣṇava Brahmans with their followers who have the epithet right-hand, and Śaiva Brahmans, with their followers termed left-hand. The dispute is stated to have arisen from the usage of a *Garuḍa* banner, or flag bearing the eagle or kite of Viṣṇu as a device. The right of bearing this banner and the question to which of the two classes it belonged created so hot a dispute that the matter was referred in arbitration to Vickrama-Cōḻa dēva Perumāḷ . . . . . That prince caused the old copper plate records at Conjeevaram to be disinterred and examined and legal authorities to be consulted. As a consequence the claim of the Śaiva to the garuḍa banner was admitted; but another result was the more accurate distinction and definition of what rights and privileges were proper to the two classes; and what were not so. The book further contains an enumeration of the classes or castes into which the two lines of Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas became divided; and of the Paraiars and others who range under the right-hand classes. These castes, on both sides, are stated to be ninety-eight. The subdivisions are those of persons having castes; that is, not Paraiars."

In the Vijayanagar days, also, these groups quarrelled among themselves very often, and according to an inscription of 1383-84 one of such quarrels lasted for four years.[59] An incomplete record at Malayampaṭṭu in the North Arcot district records the settlement of a quarrel between the *Iḍaṅgai* and *Valaṅgai* sects in which there was loss of life on both sides.[60] In A.D. 1438-39 the people of a certain locality made an agreement among themselves that if the members of either the *Valaṅgai* or *Iḍaṅgai* class caused any disturbance or fought with each other during public festivals, "the said persons must be killed on the spot, with spears, without ceremony ".[61] Feelings between the two classes were so bitter that in A.D. 1440-41 an agreement was made as regards the social conduct among the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* classes of two of the eighteen subdivisions residing around Iruṅgōḷapāṇḍivaḷanāḍu on the northern bank of the Kāvērī.[62]

They appear to have been liable to the payment of a communal tax. Thus we get reference to the *Iḍaṅgaivari*.[63] The corporate activity of these groups led them to form constitutional associations among themselves and deal with the government as an organised body. They fixed the amount of taxes they would pay to the government, and at one time even went to the extent of deciding to inflict corporal punishment on the Brahmans and tax-collectors who demanded more than what they had decided to pay.[64]

As said above the occupation by the Telugu and the Kanarese people of the Tamil country led to the rise of certain social problems. Their colonisation of Tamil India told hard on the social status of the original inhabitants; for since they followed their masters and settled down there with them they commanded a higher social status as conquerors over the Tamil people. M. Srinivasa Ayyangar suggests that this contributed to the old inhabitants giving up their original occupation and taking up menial work, and cites the instance of the Senmans who on the advent of the

59. 422 of 1905.
60. 185 of 1921.
61. Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 305.
62. 253 of 1926.
63. 4 of 1906; 215 of 1910.
64. 92 of 1918; see also 59 of 1914, etc. For further particulars about the two classes see an article by C. S. Srinivasachari in the *Q.J.A.H.R.S.*, IV, pp. 77-85; Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, Pt. I, p. 125, *fn.* 2; *Oppert, Or. Inh. of Bharatavarsha*, p. 90, *fn.* 59.

newcomers appear to have given up their profession of leather working and taken to menial service.[65]

Tōṭṭiyans :

The first among such colonists that deserves some examination are the Tōṭṭiyans or Kambaḷattārs. Originally shepherds they became petty poligars in the south.[66] Polyandry and post-puberty marriages prevailed among them ; and very often the bridegroom was younger than the bride. Female morality was very loose among them, and in fact a woman was allowed to have marital relations with the father or other male relations of her husband. Divorce and remarriage of widows and in certain cases *satī* were also allowed. The Tōṭṭiyans were generally Vaiṣṇavas but their patron deities were Jakkaṇṇa and Bommakka who committed *satī*.[67]

The Tōṭṭiyans had their own communal organisation. In about A.D. 1369 the Tōṭṭiyans of Pulliyūr nāḍ decided that he who did not pay a particular contribution was to be an outcaste " from the *nāḍu*, the assembly, *pañcāḷam*, the *paśai* and the eighteen *nāḍus*."[68]

Sourāṣṭras.

Another group of people who colonised the south were the Sourāṣṭras. Their original habitat was probably Gujarat. They seem to have migrated to the south during the Vijayanagar times. They were the suppliers of cloth in the Peninsula. They lived at Vijayanagar for a fairly long time, and when that empire expanded to the south, they also moved down and settled round Madura. Largely dependent on royal patronage and being able to supply fine clothing for the nobility, they soon became a flourishing community in South India pursuing their industrial activity. They, like the members of many other communities, tried to rise in the social scale. They assumed Brahman caste names, and spread certain legends to show how having been originally Brahmans they had degenerated. They had quarrels

65. *Tamil Studies*, p. 85.

66. Nelson calls the immigrants Vaḍugas and divides them into Kavarers, Gollas, Reḍḍis, Kammavars, and Tōṭṭiyans or Kambalars of whom the last three were agricultural—*Madura Manual*, Pt. II, p. 80.

67. See *Ind. Ant.*, 1915, pp. 135-7 for an account of them by V. Rangachary ; see also Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VII, pp. 183-197.

68. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 103(*a*).

with the Brahmans with regard to certain social rights, and at times the state was forced to interfere in them. For instance, in the regency of Maṅgammāḷ "eighteen of the members of the Sourāṣṭra community were arrested by the Governor of Madura for performing the Brahmanical ceremony of *Upākarma* or renewal of the sacred thread. The queen convened a meeting of those learned in the *Śāstras* to investigate the Paṭṭunūlkārans' rights to perform such ceremonies. This declared in favour of the defendants and the queen gave them a palm leaf award accordingly which is still preserved in Madura."[69] Since then the Sourāṣṭras followed "many of the customs of the Southern Brahmans regarding food, dress, forms of worship and names, and have recently taken to the adoption of Brahmanical titles such as Aiyar, Ācārya, and Bhāgavatar."[70]

Reḍḍis :

The Reḍḍis of the Telugu country who were generally agriculturists settled in South India in the Vijayanagar days. They were divided into two classes, Poṅgala Reḍḍis and the Panṭa Reḍḍis.

There were many such waves of immigrants of the various castes and communities from the north into Tamil India, and among them may be mentioned the Telugu Brahmans, Uppilians (salt manufacturers), Telugu spinners and dyers, Śēṇiāns (Telugu weavers), barbers, leather workers, washermen, Oḍḍans, Dombans, etc.

SECTION II

Social Institutions

1. *Marriage* :

Among the social institutions in any country, that of marriage is the most important. Though marriage is a religious sacrament among the Hindus, great social importance has come to be attached to it.

Though ancient Sanskrit literature speaks of eight kinds of marriages, there is no evidence to show that all of them existed in the Vijayanagar days. *Kanyādāna* was the only form of marriage that was widespread and popular.

69. *Mad. Gaz.*, p. 111.
70. *Ibid.*

In this connection certain incidental features of matrimony, like the dowry system and child marriage, may be examined here. The system of giving dowry was prevalent in the Vijayanagar days though there appears to have been much resentment against the practice. A large number of inscriptions testify to the existence of the system. A record of A.D. 1379 registers the grant as dowry of the village of Pangaipaḷḷi in the one-third share of Puḷḷiyūrnāḍu belonging to one Nambi Iravi Śeṭṭiyār to his daughter's sons Iraviyaṇṇaṉ, Kēśava Śeṭṭiyār and others.[71] Sometimes money for expenses at a marriage was then, as now, raised by the sale of property. Thus in A.D. 1404 one Acapa's son, Viṭṭappa, sold the village of Kandavaḷḷi together with other lands "on account of marriage."[72] In about 1424 the Āḷva Prabhu Bommiyakka Heggaḍiti's son sold some land to the *sthānika* (temple priest) Dēvappaṇṇa Ayya's son, Bōvaṇṇa Ayya, on account of marriage.[73]

Villages often made rules against lands in them being alienated to outsiders as dowry; thus the residents of the village of Māṅgāḍu (Chingleput district) made an agreement among themselves that lands must not be given as *strīdhana* to any outsider.[74]

The evil of a bride price was felt to be so great by the Brahmans in the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom during the time of Dēva Rāya II, that the Brahmans of the locality belonging to various sub-communities made an agreement among themselves which has the character of a piece of social legislation. The inscription recording this piece of legislation runs as follows: "The great men of all branches of sacred studies of the kingdom (*rājyam*) of Paḍaivīḍu drew up, in the presence of (the God) Gōpinātha (of) Arkapuṣkaraṇi, a document (which contains) an agreement fixing the sacred law. According to (this document) if the Brahmans of this kingdom (*rājyam*) of Paḍaivīḍu (viz.) Kannaḍigas, Tamiṟas, Telungas, Ilāṭas, etc., of all *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *śākhas* conclude a marriage, they shall from this day forwards do it by *kanyādāna*. Those who do not adopt *kanyādāna* (i.e.), both those who give a girl away after receiving gold, and those who conclude a marriage after having given gold, shall be

71. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 108 and 109.
72. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 134.
73. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 175.
74. 354 of 1908; *Rep.*, 1909, para 67.

liable to punishment by the king, and shall be excluded from the community of Brahmans. These are the contents of the document which was drawn up."[75] One interesting point to be noted here is the fact that it was an agreement for reform made by the Brahman community of the Paḍaivīḍu rājyam on its own initiative. The state did not interfere in it, except to enforce the voluntary agreement arrived at by the Brahmans.[76]

As in respect of the bride price, so in respect of some *maryāda*, the people made an agreement among themselves in A.D. 1553. In that year the people of all lands from Koṇḍapaḷḷi to Rājamahēndrapuram decided that the *ōli maryāda* in a first marriage should be 21 *cinnam* of gold, that the bridegroom's party should give 12½ of silver and the bride's party 20½ of gold.[77]

It is clear that "the evil practice of bargaining for marriage by one, at least, of the parties was as rampant in Ś. 1347 (A.D. 1425) as it is today."[78] We do not know, however, whether the marriage reform in the Paḍaivīḍu rājya was copied by the Brahmans in the other parts of the empire.

Agreeably to the injunctions of the ancient Hindu scriptures the Brahmans in the Vijayanagar empire married their girls at a comparatively early age. Linschoten who observed this custom during the time of his visit says: "When the woman is seven yeeres old and the man nine yeeres they doe marrie; but they come not together before the woman be strong enough to beare children."[79] This practice of the Brahmans was in a large measure followed by a few other classes. Thus according to Ferishta, Nehal, a farmer girl, had been betrothed to a youth of her own caste in childhood "agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan."[80]

75. 47 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, I, No. 56, pp. 82-84.
76. See *contra*, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Q.J.M.S.*, VI, p. 49.
77. 337 of 1892; *Mac. Mss.*, Bk. XVI, (15-3-4), p. 12. *Ōli* is the same as bride price. The term is generally used with reference to the lower classes. The meaning is clearly brought out in the following proverb:—

ఓలి కొంచమని గ్రుడ్డిదానిని పెండ్లాడితే దొంతికుండలంతా పగులగొట్టినది.

78. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 230.
79. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 256.
80. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 380.

2. *Satī*:

Another equally important social institution in the Vijayanagar days was that of *sahagamana* or *satī*.[1] There are a large number of *satikals* or *māstikals* in the Kanarese districts where are found the sculptured representation of the women committing *satī*, and under a few of them are inscribed a few words, recording under what circumstances the *sahagamana* was performed. Almost every foreign traveller who visited Vijayanagar noticed the prevalence of the practice of *satī* and has left an account of it. Barbosa (1514), Nuniz (1535-6), Caesar Frederick (1567), Linschoten (1583), Barradas (1614), Pietro della Valle (1623)—all these travellers give very vivid and realistic pictures of how *satī* was performed. But they differ in certain details with regard to the manner in which it was committed for which three explanations are possible. (i) The method followed by one class of people must have differed from that pursued by another owing to their customary differences, for every community in the empire could have had a particular custom in all such matters. (ii) Some change might have crept into the customs with the passage of time. (iii) The custom might have differed from place to place, and the travellers, since they did not all visit one and the same place, nor were they contemporaries, could have left divergent accounts of the custom as they saw it.

Barbosa says that if the woman was poor and of 'low birth' she threw herself along with the burning carcase of her husband and perished in the flames, but if she was a woman of high rank, she did not burn herself immediately, but performed certain ceremonies before she fell into the flames. She would spend some time in festive music, singing, dancing and banquets after which she would dress herself richly and distribute the remaining property to her sons, relatives and friends. After this she was mounted on a light grey or white horse and led through the streets till she reached the burning ghat, where a fire was lit for her; she removed all her clothes except a small piece which covered her waist, made a short speech telling the people gathered together there that she was immolating herself for the love she bore for her husband though she was not bound to do so. Then she poured on her head oil after which she fell into the flames and perished.[81] Nuniz also gives almost the same details; however he adds that after the corpse of the husband had been set

81. *Barbosa,* I, pp. 213-16.

fire to, a Brahman performed over her certain ceremonies according to their law, after which she distributed all her jewels among her relatives and wore a yellow robe. Soon she went with great enthusiasm to the fire pit which she came round thrice, mounted a few steps which had been erected for the purpose, and stood on the top of them holding a mat in her hand which prevented her from seeing the fire. The people assembled threw into the fire a cloth containing rice, and another containing betel leaves besides her comb and mirror. Finally, she took leave of them, poured a pot of oil on her head and fell headlong into the flames.[82] "The rice and betel were for his dinner; it is possible too, that the oil she poured on her head was intended for his toilet though it served the immediate purpose of shortening her own suffering."[83]

Caesar Frederick says that the wives committed self-immolation two or three months after the death of their husbands. On the particular day on which she was to burn herself, she dressed herself like a bride and was carried round the city either on horse-back or on an elephant or else was borne by eight men on a small stage to the place where the dead bodies were burnt. She held feasts after which she bathed in the river to wash away her sins; later she wore a yellow robe and got upon a pinnacle erected for the purpose. She then poured oil over her head and threw herself into the flames that had been lit.[84]

Though women of a few classes of people performed *satī* by burning themselves either along with their husbands or in fire lit a few days later for the purpose, some others specially the Lingāyats performed it by being buried alive with their dead husbands. Nuniz describing this method says: "These go with much pleasure to the pit inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them in little by little till

82. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-93. P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar says that the Brahmans of the by-gone age knew of a plant the juice of which when mixed with sandal paste and rubbed freely over the body of the would-be *satī* made her insensible to heat. He thinks that the people would have used the juice of such a plant. See his *South Indian Customs*, p. 93.

83. Edward Thompson, *Suttee*, p. 43.

84. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 94-96; for other descriptions, see Linschoten, Purchas, *ibid.*, pp. 256-7; Barradas, Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 266-67.

they are covered up; and so the wife dies with the husband."[85] Barbosa says that it was the people who wore the *Tambarane* round their necks that buried the wives along with their dead husbands. His description is as follows: "They dig a great hole deep enough to come up to her neck, and place her in it alive, standing on her feet and begin to shovel in the earth around her trampling it down with their feet until she is covered up to the neck with well trodden earth. Then they place a great stone over her and there she stays dying alive and walled up in clay and they carry out other ceremonies for her......[86] Caesar Frederick observes that it was the custom among the 'base sort of people' to bury the wives along with their dead husbands, and strangle them by the neck before closing them with mud.[87] Gaspero Balbi who saw this custom in A.D. 1582 says that it obtained among the goldsmiths.[88] This kind of *satī* is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the period.[89]

The classes of people who performed *sahagamana* were generally the nobility in the empire who were made up of the king, the great lords, the knights and fighting men. According to the inscriptions, which are many, the classes of people who were called the *gauḍas* and the *nāyakas* also performed *sahagamana* or *satī*.[90] Lastly, Brahman widows also appear to have performed *satī*. In fact the description of its performance given by Linschoten refers to the practice of the Brahman community.[91]

The performance of self-immolation, though very popular and wide-spread in the Vijayanagar days, does not appear to have been enjoined upon the widows. It seems that it was dictated by considerations of marital affection and done voluntarily. Barbosa definitely says that many of the women, even just before their immolation wore a cheerful countenance and asked the people assembled there to consider what they owed to their wives who being *free to act* yet burnt themselves alive for the love of them.[92]

85. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-93.
86. *Barbosa,* I, pp. 218-9.
87. Purchas, *His Pilgrims,* X, p. 96.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
89. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 496, 165, etc.
90. *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 116; *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 302; *E.C.*, VIII, Sa. 8; etc. It is interesting to note that *satī* seems to have largely prevailed in the Shimoga district in particular.
91. See Purchas, *His Pilgrims,* X, pp. 256-57.
92. *Barbosa,* I, p. 215. The *italics* are ours.

According to an epigraph in the Sorab taluk in the Shimoga district, the wife of one Bomma Gauḍa performed *sahagamana* 'with great desire'.[93] Again according to an epigraph of A.D. 1376 when one Bāci Gauḍa of Āvali expired, his junior wife Muḍḍi Gaurī performed *sahagamana*.[94] This inscription however does not say anything with regard to the senior wife. This indicates that the performance of *sahagamana* was left to individual choice.

Though *satī* was only voluntary, it is difficult to account for its wide popularity in the Vijayanagar empire. Examining this question, Hervey remarks: "Excessive jealousy of their female connexions, operating on the breasts of Hindoo princes, rendered those despots regardless of the common bonds of society and their incumbent duty as the protectors of the weaker sex, and in so much that with a view to prevent every possibility of their widows forming subsequent attachments, they availed themselves of their arbitrary power and, under the cloak of religion, introduced the practice of burning widows alive under the first impressions of sorrow or despair, immediately after the demise of their husbands."[95] The glorification of a dead person might have been another cause for the wide prevalence of *satī*. Hindu society attaches great importance to a male member, and naturally the women who live for and through him have no purpose to serve in this world after the death of their husbands. According to them "widowhood was an experience so desolate and crammed with misery that it was better to perish in the flames that consumed the husband's corpse".[96]

The performance of *satī* was commemorated by the erection of what are known as *satikals* on which are seen sculptured representations of the widows who committed *satī* on the death of their husbands. They "are generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post from which projects a woman's right arm, bent upwards at the elbow. The hand is raised with fingers erect, and a lime fruit is usually shown placed between the thumb and fore-finger. This is what is alluded to in the old inscriptions, where the women

93. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 495.
94. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 106.
95. *Some Records of Crime*, II, p. 506, quoted by Thompson, *Suttee*, p. 45.
96. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

are said to 'have given arm and hand.'[97] The *satikal* has generally two panels. The lower one represents the husband with one or two wives and in the upper one is seen a Linga or a conch the symbols respectively of Śiva and Viṣṇu, by the side of which the husband stands with his wife or wives thus showing they had all reached heaven. About the raised hand in the *satikal*, Rice says: "The human arm I have heard called Madana-kai, the hand or arm of Madana, that is of Cupid, love or passion."[98]

This aspect of the question of *sahagamana* whether it was voluntary or compulsory leads us to an examination of an equally important question—the removal of the hair by the widow on the death of her husband. This is a curious custom that has crept into the Hindu society especially among the Brahmans. From what Barbosa writes about this practice, it is clear that those who did not perform *sahagamana* were held in great dishonour, and their kindred shaved their heads and turned them away as disgraced and a shame to the families.[99] Linschoten also describes this practice as follows: " And if it chance, as not very often it doth, that any woman refuseth to be burnt with her Husband, then they cut the haire cleane off from her head: and while she liveth she must never after weare any Jewels more, and from that time she is despised, and accounted for a dishonest woman."[100] Thus the shaving of the head was meant as a punishment for those who violated the customary practice of committing *satī*.[101]

97. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 38.

98. *Mys. Ins.*, p. xxvi and *fn.* 1; Saletore, *Soc. and Pol. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, II, p. 96 and *fn.* 2.

99. *Barbosa*, I, p. 216.

100. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 257.

101. It is difficult to say when this practice came into vogue. The ancient Hindu law-givers do not mention the practice of the removal of the hair by the widows. Manu for instance ordains as follows: A faithful wife who desires to dwell (*after death*) with her husband must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand, whether he be alive or dead . . . Until death, let her be patient (of hardships), self-controlled and chaste, and strive (to fulfil) that most excellent duty which (is prescribed) for wives who have one husband only (*Manu*, V, 156-58). But it is only for specific offences like the adultery of a Brahman woman with a Śūdra that she was punishable with the shaving of her head and the anointing of her body with butter, and in that condition being placed naked on a donkey and paraded through the streets. (*Vaśiṣṭha*, XXI, 1, p. 109).

SECTION III

Women

In considering the status of women in a particular age it would be convenient to divide them into two groups or types. We can call them the ordinary family women and the courtezans. It was seldom that the family women, who were of a retiring nature, came out to take an active part in social festivals held at Vijayanagar, and it was only the courtezans who resided in large numbers at the capital that took part in them. The courtezans themselves appear to have comprised of two groups, one living independently at the capital and taking part in the social functions, and the other, the dancing girls attached to temples, dependent on their earnings from the temple and having almost nothing to do with the court ceremonies and festivals.

Curiously enough no foreign traveller who visited Vijayanagar has left any detailed description of the family women. Paes, however, gives a short but correct account. He says: "They (the Brahmans) are all married and have got very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brahmans are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few."[102]

But it is the harem that has attracted the notice of many foreign travellers. Like all oriental sovereigns the Vijayanagar rulers had a large harem. Though it was large only a few in it were the royal queens and hence had a higher status. The kings had many wives,[103] but among them were a few principal ones. Thus Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya had twelve lawful wives of whom three were the principal ones, "the sons of each of these three being heirs of the kingdom".[104] Veṅkaṭapati II had four wives.[105] Barbosa says that there existed so much envy and rivalry among these women with regard to the king's favour, that some killed others and some poisoned themselves.[106] But

102. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
103. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.
104. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
105. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 495 and 502.
106. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.

Paes says that the principal wives of the king had " each the same, one as much as the other, so that there may not be any discord or ill-feeling between them, and all of them were great friends, each one living by herself."[107]

The wives had each a house, maidens, women of the chamber, women guards and servants necessary. All of them were women, except the eunuchs who were also engaged. No man was allowed to see them unless he was a very old man of high rank, and specially permitted by the king. The wives of the king were usually carried in closed litters, so that they could not be seen, and were closely followed only by the eunuchs. Every one of them had enormous wealth and jewels, and had each many maidens " adorned as richly as could possibly be with many jewels and rubies and diamonds and pearls and seed pearls."[108] Paes describes how the kings used to order their wives to come to them. He says that the king ordered an eunuch to go and call a particular wife, who informed of it to the female guards, staying outside the women's apartments, and that they informed the queen that she was wanted by the king, after which either she went to the king's palace or he came to her chamber.[109]

The women employed in the palace had their houses within the palace precincts. Barbosa says that they were all gathered inside the palaces, where they had in plenty all that they required and had many good lodgings.[110] Paes also speaks of the houses of the wives of the king and other women who served them.[111]

Our authorities differ as to the number of women in the harem, but it appears to have contained many women. Nicolo dei Conti speaking about the Vijayanagar king in A.D. 1421 says: " He takes to himself twelve thousand wives, of whom four thousand follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number more handsomely equipped ride on horseback. The remainder are

107. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 249. The popular theme of literary composition during this age was the rivalry of fellow wives—Tirumalādēvi, the queen of Kṛṣṇa Rāya could be jealous of Saṅgā. Barbosa is perhaps nearer the truth than Paes.

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 247-48.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

110. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208 ; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 129.

111. Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 264-65.

carried by men in litters of whom two thousand or three thousand are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him which is considered to be a great honour for them."[112] Abdur Razāk, describing the harem of Dēva Rāya II, says that there were "as many as 700 princesses and concubines" in it.[113] Paes however says there were twelve thousand women in Kṛṣṇa Rāya's harem.[114] With regard to this particular detail, Nuniz says they numbered over four thousand in the days of Acyuta.[115]

The members in the royal harem were women of position, some of them being the daughters of the great lords of the realm; while some of them served as concubines, some served as handmaids. As Barbosa says, for this purpose the fairest and most healthy women were sought throughout the kingdom that they might do him service with cleanliness and neatness. According to him these women afforded great pleasure to the king by singing and playing.[116] No male child was allowed to remain with these women after attaining the age of ten. Abdur Razāk says that when any beautiful girl was found in any part of the kingdom, after the consent of her father and mother had been purchased, she was brought in great state to the harem after which no one could see her; but she was treated with great consideration.[117]

The services rendered by the women in the palace were many. Barbosa says they did all the work inside the gates and held all the duties of the household.[118] Evidently his remarks apply only to a few of them, who were specially engaged for certain purposes; Nuniz is clear on this point when he says: "The King has other women besides. He has ten cooks, for his personal service, and has others kept for times when he gives banquets; and these ten prepare the food for no one save for the King alone. He has a eunuch

112. Major, *India*, p. 6.
113. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 114.
114. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
116. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.
117. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, pp. 114-115. See in this connection Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 380-81 where Nehal, the Mudkal beauty, refused to receive the golden necklace presented to her by Dēva Rāya I, for she feared that "whoever entered the harem of Beejnuggur was never afterwards permitted to see even her nearest relatives."
118. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.

for guard at the gate of the kitchen, who never allows any one to enter for fear of poison......Women and eunuchs serve him at table."[119] They were also employed for many other services within the palace and at times outside it. Some were bearers who carried on their shoulders not only the king's wives but also the king in the interior of the palace, for the king's houses were large and there were great intervals between one house and another. According to the Portuguese chronicler, there were besides women who were wrestlers not to speak of others who were astrologers and sooth-sayers ; there were still others who wrote all the accounts of the expenses that were incurred inside the gates of the palace, and a few others whose duty it was to note down all the happenings in the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside ; besides all these there were women musicians in the palace who played on instruments and sang.[120] Referring to them Paes says : " There are women who handle sword and shield and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets, and others pipes; and others instruments...; and in the same way they have women as bearers (*bois*) and washing-folk and for other offices inside their gates just as the king has the offices of the household."[121]

Nuniz says that women held offices of responsibility in the state.[122] If what he says is true, it is strange that the other foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar do not speak about them. But from the evidence of Nuniz we can assume that women were employed for the management of the zenana. It is highly doubtful whether the women were appointed to offices of responsibility in the government.

Several of the women accompanied the army. Sometimes the queens themselves followed the army to the battlefield. When for instance Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya laid siege to the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu in A.D. 1515, his two queens Cinnadēviammā and Tirumaladēviammā were with him. He also visited the temple of Amarēśvara in their company.[123] It has been noted earlier that Barbosa says that on occasions of war the king ordered all men to attend with their wives and sons and households for, as he said, " men fight better if they have the

119. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-83.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
121. *Ibid.*, 248-49 and 382 *fn.* 1.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
123. *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 178.

responsibility of wives and children and household goods on them ".[124] There must have been other women also, for Nuniz, while describing the army that marched to Raicūr, says that twenty thousand public women accompanied the army with the king.[125]

The presence of these women was essential in the court ceremonials. At the celebration of the *Mahānavami* for instance they played an important part. The courtezans and bayaderes (the dancing girls of the temple and palace) remained dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time, in the morning of each of the nine days of festival. On another occasion in the course of the same festival twenty-five or thirty female door-keepers with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders and being followed by many eunuchs and women playing many trumpets, drums, pipes and viols, and many other kinds of music, and women porters richly dressed, came out to the place where the festival was conducted and thrice came round the state horses used for the festivals. After the state horses and elephants had been taken away from the arena there came thirty-six of the most beautiful of the king's " wives ", covered with gold and pearls and much work of seed pearls, and in the hands of each of them was a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it ; and with these women came all the female servants and the other "wives" of the king with canes in their hands tipped with gold and with torches burning. They were fair and young, aged between sixteen and twenty, and were the maids of honour to the queens.[126]

Apart from these there lived at the capital a large number of courtezans. Abdur Razāk was very much struck by "the beauty of the heart ravishers, their blandishments and ogles." Every one of them was covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments, and had each one or two slave girls standing before her who invited and allured to indulgence and pleasure. There were many such brothels within the several fortresses at the capital.[127]

Many of the courtezans possessed enormous wealth. Barbosa while estimating the wealth of a particular woman says: "Some of

124. *Barbosa*, I, p. 225. See *ante* p. 165.
125. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 267, 273-74 and 378.
127. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, pp. 111-12.

them are so rich that a short time ago one of them dying without son or daughter, made the king heir to all her property, who, when he sent to collect what she had left, found that a sum of seventy thousand *pardaos* remained as well as another twelve thousand which during her life she had set apart and left to one of her handmaids whom she had brought up from childhood; wherein there is no great marvel, for this kind of merchandise is the greatest and richest found in this world."[128] Paes too was surprised to see that the courtezans had enormous wealth; for according to his account there were women among them who had lands that had been given to them with litters and maidservants. He says that there was a woman at the capital who was said to have a hundred thousand *pardaos*.[129]

According to the accounts of Abdur Razāk and Paes they lived in the best streets in the city and were of very loose character. Their streets had the best rows of houses. About them the Persian ambassador remarks: "After the time of mid-day prayers they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Any man who goes through this place makes choice of whom he will."[130] Paes also says: "They are very much esteemed, and are classed amongst those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains; any respectable man can go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto."[131]

These women enjoyed certain special privileges. They were allowed to enter even the presence of the wives of the king and they stayed with them and even chewed betel with them, "a thing no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be." They were allowed to use betel even in the presence of the king.[132]

Barbosa describes how they pleased the king. He says that "they (the women) sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king. They bathe daily in the many tanks.... ....kept for that purpose. The king goes to see them bathing, and

128. *Barbosa*, I, p. 226; Dames calculates the amount at £32,000 in modern money. (See *fn.* 1, p. 226).
129. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
130. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, pp. 111-12; and Major, *India*, p. 29.
131. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 242 and 269.

she who pleases him most is sent for to come to his chamber."[133] This visit which the king made to the tanks when these women were bathing does not appear to be the fiction of the imagination of Duarte Barbosa when we compare his account with that contained in the *Madhurāvijayam* where Gaṅgādēvī describes how Kampaṇa, her husband, sported with the courtezans and other women among whom Gaṅgādēvī herself was one, during the time of their bath.[134]

A tax was levied on the prostitutes, and the amount which came to 12,000 *fanams* went to pay the wages of the policemen.[135] This levy of a tax on the prostitutes shows that the Vijayanagar state legalised prostitution.[136]

Apart from these courtezans who were attached to the palace and lived at the capital, there were others, as noticed already, who were attached to temples, where they did important service. Perhaps on account of the fact that they had not much to do with the court ceremonials, the foreign travellers who give an account of the courtezans in glowing terms and vivid colours, have not much to say about this class of dancing girls. Only some casual remarks are made about them. Paes, while describing certain temple festivals, says that whenever the festival of any of the temples occurred the people dragged along certain triumphal cars and with them went dancing girls and other women with music.[137] Emanuel de Veiga, a Jesuit who saw a festival procession at Tiruvālūr, says that there were thirty women dancers going before it. According to him they had devoted themselves to the idols in perpetual service ; he says : " They may not marrie, but prostitute themselves for the most part, all goodly and richly arrayed and carrying lampes burning."[138] Pietro della Valle also notes the practice of the dancing girls accompanying the processions singing and dancing.[139]

They danced and sang before the Gods daily at specified hours. Their service is considered to please God and hence they are known as *dēvaraḍiyāḷs*. Such rights were hereditary.

133. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.
134. *Madhurāvijayam*, canto VI, vv. 56-65.
135. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 112.
136. See Vincent Smith, *Oxford Hist. of Ind.*, p. 314.
137. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
138. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 220-21.
139. *Travels*, II, pp. 259-60.

They were generally remunerated from the temple funds. For example, according to a record at Tēkal, certain lands were granted to two dancing girls for reciting the *Tiruppallāṇḍu* by the authorities of the temple of Tēkal and one Śokka Perumāḷ-dāsar. The temple authorities and the dāsar also pledged themselves to rescue them in case any one seized and carried them away owing to their accomplishments in dancing and music.[140]

At times deputations to the king were led by the *dēvadāsis* on behalf of the temples they were serving. According to an epigraph of A.D. 1433-34, one Aramvaḷatta Nācciyār, the elder sister of a Kaikkōḷa, attached to the temple of Agneśvara at Māḍam, sought an interview with king Dēva Rāya II on behalf of a temple and secured from him a copper-plate grant embodying a *sarvamānya* gift of a village. In return for her services the *rudramāheśvaras* of the temple granted her one *padakku* of grain every day and two *paṇams* of money per month.[141]

A description of the women in the Vijayanagar empire cannot be complete without an account of their literary attainments. Barbosa says that they were taught from their childhood to sing, play and dance, to turn about and make many light steps.[142] Apart from their knowledge of these arts, many of them were very literate. Gaṅgādēvī, the wife of Kampaṇa and authoress of the *Vīrakampārāyacaritam*, deserves an honourable place among such literary celebrities. When Acyuta Rāya made a gift of *suvarṇameru*, a Sanskrit verse was composed by one Vōdūru Tirumalammā, who has been identified with Tirumalāmbā, the authoress of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam*, which describes the marriage of Acyuta with Varadāmbā.[143] Here the list would be incomplete if we do not make a prominent mention of Rāmabhadrāmbā, the authoress of the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*. She says that there were in the court of Raghunātha many accomplished ladies, proficient in composing four kinds of poetry (*citra, bandha, garbha and asu*), and capable of explaining the works written in various languages. They were skilful in the art *śatalekhini* and filling up literary verse puzzles (*padyapūraṇam*). They were able to compose verses at the rate of one hundred in an hour (*ghaṭikaśata*) and to compose poetry in eight *bhāṣas* (Sanskrit, Telugu, and six Prakrits). They

140. *E.C.*, X, Mr. 19; *M.A.R.*, 1913-14, para 111.
141. 229 of 1919; *Rep.*, 1919, para 38.
142. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.
143. 9 of 1904; 708 of 1922; *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 81; *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 89.

knew how to interpret and explain the poems and dramas (*kāvyas* and *nāṭakas*) composed by the famous poets and to explain the secrets of the music of the two sorts (*Karnāṭa* and *Deśa*). They were able to sing very sweetly and to play on the *vīṇā* and such other musical instruments as the *Rāvaṇahasta*.[144]

SECTION IV

Court Life

A study of the life in any of the oriental courts is generally very interesting. The grandeur of the court, the method of doing homage to the king, the pleasures of the sovereign, the method of the transaction of business by him, and the customary honours that are conferred upon certain officers and servants—these form an interesting study.

The Vijayanagar king lived in great pomp and splendour. When he held his court he was surrounded by the " most imposing attributes of state. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men arranged in a circle." [145] The kings at Vijayanagar appear to have used only cushions for sitting while they held their courts. Veṅkaṭa II for instance " was sitting in a narrow vestibule . . . He was seated on a mat and leaning against a pillow. Next to the king . . . the crown prince was also seated . . . On the other side of the king, opposite the prince, Obo (Oba Rāya) and his brother were seated too ".[146] During the *Mahānavami* festival the king used to sit on a throne which Abdur Razāk describes in the following terms : " It was of a prodigious size, made of gold inlaid with beautiful jewels, and ornamented with exceeding delicacy and art ; seeing that this kind of manufacture is nowhere excelled in the other kingdoms of the earth. Before the throne there was placed a cushion of *Zaitūni* satin, round which three rows of the most exquisite pearls were sewn." [146a] Nicholas Pimenta who visited Jiñji in A.D. 1599 describes the court of the Nāyak of the place in

144. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 291 ; See *infra*, Sec. on games and amusements.

145. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 113.

146. Du Jarric, I, pp. 654-77, quoted by Heras in *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 466; see also Orme, *Hist. Fragments*, p. 61.

146a. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 120.

the following terms: "We found him lying on a silken carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silk Garment, a great Chain hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearls and Gemmes, all over his breast, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearls; some princes and Brahmanas attended him".[147]

One of the important festivals in which the presence of the king was essential was the *Mahānavami*. The festival, originally religious in character, slowly gathered some political and social significance. The king presided over the function which lasted for nine days. On all the nine days there were performances like dance, wrestling and many other amusements. As Abdur Razāk says, "this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display. One cannot, without entering into great detail, mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibs and various other amusements which were exhibited".[148] Paes also gives a vivid account of the *Mahānavami* celebrations and shows how the king's presence was necessary at them.[149]

The Vijayanagar sovereign held an annual review of his army. After the soldiers, elephants, horses and the captains had gathered together on the plains, the king took a review of his forces amidst scenes of great exultation and joy prevailing among the assembled crowd.[150]

An important feature of the life in an oriental court is the custom of making *salām* by the feudatories and captains of the ruling sovereign. Every foreign traveller who visited the Vijayanagar court was impressed with this ceremony and has recorded it in his accounts. Paes says that the captains waiting at the gate made *salām* to the king daily which consisted of the bowing of their heads and the joining of their hands over their heads after that. He says: "As soon as they appear, they make their *salaam* to him and place themselves along the walls far off from him; they do not speak one to another, nor do they chew betel before him, but they place their hands in the sleeves of their tunics (*cabayas*) and cast their eyes on the ground, and when the king desires to speak to any one, it is done through a second person,

147. Purchas, *His Pilgrims,* X, p. 208.
148. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.,* IV, p. 119.
149. Sewell, *op. cit.,* pp. 269-74.
150. See *ibid.,* pp. 275-78.

and then he to whom the king desires to speak raises his eyes and replies to him who questions him and returns to his former position. So they remain till the king bids them go, and then they all turn to make the *salaam* to him and go out ".[151] Nuniz also observed this custom, and says that each came by himself and was introduced to the king by certain officers who numbered ten or twelve and whose duty it was to say on the coming of these captains: "See, Your Highness, your captain so-and-so, who makes *salaam* to you." [152] Another equally important custom was the kissing of the royal feet which appears to have been a rare privilege allowed only to a few persons. Abdur Razāk says that the *Daṇāik* on his return from Ceylon was " admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet." [153] Nuniz notes this custom and says: " The king confers very high honour, too, if he permits a certain one to kiss his feet, for he never gives his hand to be kissed by any one ".[154]

Another custom which seems to have existed, but which the foreign travellers failed to notice was that of giving some presents to the king when any one went to see him. Thus for instance when one Paluttāṇḍi Kuppācāri Ambalakkāraṉ applied for a copper-plate charter to Tirumalai Nāyaka and the Kiḻavaṉ Sētupati Muddu Rāmalinga Pāṇḍudaiyāṉ Torai, he is said to have approached them offering them *śīṉi śakkarai* (i.e. sugar candy), as *nazar*. In this connection it is interesting to note that this is still the orthodox etiquette in visiting high personages.[155]

In court or in camp the king was surrounded by a small retinue of officers and servants who constituted his personal staff and were expected to be always with him. The most important among them was one whom Nuniz calls a Secretary, who wrote down what the king said and the favours he bestowed, the persons with whom he spoke and upon what subject and such other details. Nuniz says that to these men was given a credit equal to that of the Evangelists because it was thought that whenever the king spoke there must be something in it worthy to be recorded.[156]

151. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 372.
153. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 117.
154. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 376.
155. *M.E.R.*, Cp. 5 and 6 of 1910-11; see *Rep.*, 1911, para 62. It is an old Hindu custom that one should not go to see a king or superior or even old people or children with empty hands. He should take with him some, fruit or as in this case *śini* sugar as a present.
156. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-75.

The betel bearer who also remained with the king always was known to inscriptions as *aḍappam*. Though he was only the 'betel page' of the king, his position, dignity and influence in the state were great. Nuniz tells us that the page who served Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya with beṭel had 15,000 foot, and 200 horse.[157] Barradas informs us that the great Naique of Madura was "a page of the betel of the king of Bisnaga and paid a revenue amounting to 600,000 *pagodas* to the king and had under him many kings and nobles as vassals."[158]

A few other servants were in charge of the wardrobe of the king. Nuniz says that the king never put on any garment more than once and when he took it off, he immediately delivered it to certain officers who had charge of this duty. And they were required to render accounts for the dress they were placed in charge of. Such special officers were required for the reason that the kings had varied and rich clothes.[159] There were also the bearers of the *cauri* and the *cāmara* and they were to wave them over the head of the king when he was seated in his hall of audience. Paes says that these plumes were tokens of high dignity.[160]

The pageantry of the Vijayanagar court, as of all other oriental courts, rested largely on the number of horses and captains employed in the palace to maintain the dignity of the court. In fact the high social status enjoyed by the captains in the Vijayanagar court was determined by the nature of the duties they performed there; and the position of the palace guard and the captains of the palace infantry was unique as in the later Mughal court. These captains followed the king wherever he went and maintained the pomp of the court even in camp. Nuniz says that when the king rode out, there went with him usually two hundred horsemen of his guard whom he paid and hundred elephants in addition to the captains forty or fifty in number, who were always in attendance with their soldiers. Two thousand men of good position followed the king, ranged in order on the flanks and with shields. In front went the chief *alcaid*[161] with about thirty horsemen with

157. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

158. *Ibid.*, p. 230; see *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 18 for a mention of a certain Kṛṣnappa Nāyaka as the *aḍappam* of Sadāśiva. It is probable that the *aḍappam* had under him two grades of attendants, the *periyapiḷḷaiyānḍāns* (senior servants) and *cinnapiḷḷaiyānḍāns* (junior servants) as in the Pudukkōṭṭai Darbar. (*Pudukkottai State Manual*, p. 446.).

159. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

160. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

161. These appear to be Vetrahastas of the literature.

canes in their hands like porters; but the chief *alcaid* bore a different wand. The Master of the Horse went with the two hundred horsemen along with the rear guard. Behind the cavalry went hundred elephants with men of high estate riding on them. The Master of the Horse had in front of him twelve saddled destriers in front of which went five elephants, specially for the king's person. Before these elephants marched twenty-five horsemen with banners in their hands and with drums and trumpets and other music playing very loudly. Before these went a great drum (*picha*) carried by men at the sides, which they struck now and then. After the king had mounted, he counted the two-hundred horsemen and the hundred elephants and the shield bearers of the guard; and whoever was missing was severely punished and his property confiscated.[162]

When Veṅkaṭa gave a garden party to his wives, he marched with his retinue to the garden outside the city in the following manner: "In the van there was a good cavalry detachment headed by a captain, who was a Muhammadan, surrounded by four or five knights; there were several silk standards in this company; after this there came a flute and a *vīṇā* band; the players rode several camels; many foot soldiers were also to be seen. Then the Delevais (Daḷavāys), or chief captains followed; they proceeded on foot and were fully armed; in their rear walked one of the royal elephants, over which the imperial standard was carried; there were several court nobles around. Next a huge iron gong was carried by four porters, and four soldiers were continuously striking it. The king himself then advanced on a gold sedan chair with many courtiers and servants around, who carried four very handsome umbrellas; then the royal insignia were to be seen on the top of picks; the hairy tail of a white wild cow, which is very much appreciated in the East; a big representation of a fish and another of a lion and finally another standard. After this there came the chief Delevay (Daḷavāy) of the kingdom and at last the prince (Raṅga) with the king's wives, accompanied by very many women carried in silver and gold sedan chairs with great pomp; the Queens were carried in shining gold litters, covered with rich golden drapery adorned with precious stones; next to every litter two umbrellas were carried to keep off the glare of the sun; there were besides many handmaids, moving their fans to and fro on each side of their

162. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72.

mistresses. Such was the order of his state procession when the king went to the garden in the suburbs of the city to spend a holiday. He came back on the same day after sunset; so many torches illuminated his way that it seemed day in spite of the hour."[163]

The Vijayanagar sovereigns appear to have followed a regulated programme in the discharge of their duties. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says in his *Āmuktamālyada*: "A king should spend the morning in the company of officers who inquire about his welfare, the doctors and the astrologers; the *yāma* after that he should spend in the company of the officers (*kāyasthas*) who collect the revenue along with his ministers and subordinates. The noon he should spend in the company of messengers, wrestlers, dainty cooks and huntsmen. In the afternoon and during the worship of God he should spend in the company of ascetics well versed in the *Dharmas* of great men (*Ārya*). After dinner he should spend in the company of musicians and the nights he should spend in the company of his dear ones (harem)."[164]

But Peas who was personally acquainted with the king gives a different account of the regular programme of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. He says that the king was accustomed every day to drink a *quartilho* (three-quarter pint) of *gingelly* oil before daylight, and anointed himself all over with the said oil; he covered his loins with a small cloth, and took in his arm great weights made of earthenware, and then taking a sword he took exercise with it till he had sweated out all the oil, and then he wrestled with one of his wrestlers. After that he mounted a horse and gallopped about the plain in one direction and another till dawn. Then he took his bath with the help of a Brahman who was a great favourite of his, after which he went to his chapel which was inside the palace and made his orisons and ceremonies according to custom. After finishing all these he went to his hall of audience where he despatched his work with those men who bore office in his kingdom and governed his cities. And his favourites talked with him. The king having finished talking to these men on subjects pleasing to him the lords and captains who were waiting at the gate came and made *salām* to him.[165]

163. Du Jarric, I, pp. 673-4; quoted in the *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 496-97.

164. Canto IV, v. 271.

165. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.

Nuniz does not give all these details, but simply states that in the morning at ten or eleven o' clock when the king came in from where his wives were, the nobles went to make *salām* to him.[166] Thus according to him the king came out to the public hall of audience at ten o' clock at the earliest. This evidently refers to the second *yāma* which the king was to spend in the company of the *kāyasthas* according to the *Āmuktamālyada*. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's work has, however, nothing to say about the exercise and the worship in the chapel within the palace which Paes is so careful to note. Paes' statement regarding the execution of some work with his 'favourites' evidently refers to the officers and spies who were employed on a large scale. He also notes that the nobles came to make *salām* to the king.

Persons who had done distinguished service were granted certain honours and privileges by the king. Nuniz says that the greatest mark of honour which Acyuta Rāya used to confer on a noble consisted of two fans ornamented with gold and precious stones made of the white tails of certain cows, and bracelets. According to him when he wished to please his captains, or persons from whom he had received or wished to receive good service he gave them scarves of honour for their personal use and these presentations were held as a great honour. These insignia which the nobles received were usually placed on the ground, whence they took them. When a particular person was appointed to an important post he was also granted certain things as insignia of his position and status. According to two inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Nadeṇḍla Appa "obtained from the glorious king and minister Timma (the right to use) a palanquin, two *cauris*, and a parasol and the posts of superintendent of Vinikoṇḍa, Guṭṭi and the city of Kanakagiri and commander-in-chief of a large army . . . . . and of sole governor of that kingdom".[167]

Section V

Habitation, Food and Dress

Habitation :

The foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar and a few other important provincial centres have left brilliant accounts of the im-

166. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

167. *E.I.*, VI, pp. 130-31. The city of Kanakagiri mentioned here is identical with Kanigiri in the Nellore district. Lüders is wrong in identifying it with Amarāvati on the R. Kṛṣṇā.

mense size of the cities and the excellent palaces and houses in them. But India was a land of villages as it still continues to be, and the condition of life in the villages was not so attractive as to draw the pen of the travellers. And it is difficult to estimate the exact number of villages in the empire. Abdur Razāk while describing the west coast region says that he arrived " each day at a town or village well populated ".[168] Nikitin, the Russian traveller, remarks that between the large towns there were many small ones, and that he came across three such places each day and occasionally four.[169] Paes also speaks of many cities and walled villages.[170] But we have no definite idea as to the number of villages in the empire.[171]

For a descriptive account of the city of Vijayanagar and its lofty palaces the writings of the foreign travellers are of indispensable value. The Persian ambassador says that the city of Vijayanagar was so built that it had seven fortified walls one within the other. It was in the seventh fortress that the palace of the king was situated.[172] Paes testifies to the fact that the palace of the king was surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others and enclosed a very large space.[173] Outside the entrance of the door to the king's residence were two images painted like life. According to Paes they represented Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his father. Inside on the left there were two chambers one above the other. The lower one was below the level of the ground with two little steps which were covered with gilded copper, and the way from there to the top was all lined with gold, and outside, it was dome-shaped. It had a four-sided porch made of cane work and embroidered with precious stones. In that chamber was a bed. In the palace there was a room with pillars of carved stone and ivory. Behind these was the dancing hall.[174]

168. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 104.
169. Major, *India*, p. 12.
170. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
171. An epigraph of the time of Sadāśiva states that the Kuntala deśa over which he ruled was twenty-seven thousand *yojanas* in extent. S. V. Venkatesvara infers from this that there were twenty-seven thousand villages in the empire (*Indian Culture Through the Ages*, II, p. 172). The assumption, however, appears to have no warrant.
172. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, pp. 106-7.
173. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
174. See *ibid.*, pp. 286-88.

An interesting feature about the palaces was the pictures painted on their walls. Paes says that there were many chambers in the king's palace at Vijayanagar and in front of one of them were "figures of women, with bows and arrows like amazons."[175]

The nobility of Vijayanagar also lived in fully equipped and well provided houses. Barbosa mentions that there were palaces in the city after the fashion of those of the king (with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built), wherein dwelt the great lords and governors.[176] Like the palaces of the king, these houses of the nobles generally had compounds. According to the account of Paes, from the second line of walls at the capital to the king's palace, there were many streets and rows of houses with many "figures and decorations pleasing to look at."[177] The rich merchants in the city also lived in such houses; the same chronicler says that there was a broad and beautiful street of fine houses which were owned by rich men who could afford to live in them.[178] The dancing girls who lived in the city also occupied equally good houses. Abdur Razāk mentions that behind the mint was a sort of bazaar which was more than three hundred yards long and twenty yards broad, on both sides of which there were houses (*khanaha*) and fore-courts (*safhaha*). In front of them instead of benches (*kurśi*) were built lofty seats of excellent stone.[179] On each side of the avenue formed by these houses of the nobles and dancing girls were figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals, so well painted that they seemed to be alive.[180] The *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* also mentions the paintings of birds, swans, doves, parrots and other domesticated animals in these houses.[181]

Though persons who could afford all this lived in such lofty houses, the middle class people do not appear to have enjoyed any such amenities. Paes says that there were more than a hundred thousand dwelling houses in Vijayanagar all one-storeyed and flat roofed to each of which

175. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
176. *Barbosa*, I, p. 202.
177. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
179. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 111.
180. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
181. Canto I, v. 106.

there was a low surrounding wall.[182] He was evidently impressed with these houses and says that the general plan of the houses was good and they were like terraces.[183] But the poorer people lived in small thatched and straw houses with only small doors.[184] The houses of the middle class people were arranged "according to occupations in long streets with many open spaces."[185] This arrangement of the houses of the people according to their occupation is also evidenced by the inscriptions which mention such streets as *Kammāḷatteru*[186] (the artisans' street), and the *Kaikkōḷatteru*[187] (the weavers' street). The flooring of many of these houses was of mud. It was kept neat and clean by smearing cowdung and water.[188]

Large towns appear to have had certain special amenities which the smaller towns and villages could not have enjoyed. The first among such was a pleasure garden or park. In the city of Vijayanagar for instance there were many groves of trees. The king had close to his palace a palm grove and other rich fruit bearing trees. There were also near the Moorish quarter many orchards and gardens with fruit bearing trees, for the most part mangoes and areca palms and jack trees, orange and lime trees growing so closely one to another that they appeared like a thick forest.[189] In many of these parts there were conduits of water which flowed into the midst of them and in certain places there were also lakes.[190]

182. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 290 ; see for a description of the houses in Nāgalāpura, p. 246; see also p. 244.

183. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

184. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 262 ; *Barbosa*, I, p. 202 ; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

185. *Barbosa*, I, p. 202. Dames has the following note on this : "The words 'according to occupation' are not expressed separately but are implied in the verb *arruar* according to Bluteau (1789) and Vieyra (1813). The allusion is to the allocation of trades and crafts each to its own quarter or Muhalla still prevalent in Indian towns." (*ibid.*, *fn.* 1). See Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 256 for a reference to the Moorish quarter.

186. 396 of 1911.

187. 319 of 1911.

188. For a contemporary notice of this practice by Pietro della Valle, see his *Travels*, II, pp. 230-31 ; see also Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China*, etc., *Toung Pao*, XVI, p. 456.

189. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-57.

190. *Ibid.*

Another amenity which large cities like Vijayanagar seem to have enjoyed was the town bell which was very helpful to the people for knowing the exact time of day.[191]

Food

The articles of food grown in the Vijayanagar empire were rice, Indian corn, grains, beans and other kinds of crops. Of the grains there was a great quantity because, besides being used as food for men, they were also used for horses; besides these, excellent wheat was also grown, though on a small scale.[192] These articles along with beans, moong (green gram), pulses, horse-gram, and many other seeds were all stocked in the market and sold very cheap. Paes says that wheat was not so common as the other grains since no one ate it except the Moors. Poultry and fowls were also used for food by a few classes of people. Three fowls could be had for a *vintem* within the city while outside it four could be had.[193]

When Abdur Razāk visited the Vijayanagar court he was daily supplied with two sheep, four couples of fowls, five *mans* of rice and one *man* of butter besides one of sugar.[194] Nuniz gives a curious list of food stuffs which constituted the dietary of the Vijayanagar sovereigns. He says: "These kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows which they never kill in all the country of the heathen because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds; even sparrows and rats, and cats and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Bisnaga."[195] With this can be compared the accounts of Paes and Barbosa. Paes, while describing the animal food used at Vijayanagar says that the sheep killed in the city were countless for in every street there were men who sold mutton "so clean and so fat" that it looked like pork; and there were also pigs in the houses of some butchers in certain streets so white and clean that one "could never see better in any country."[196] Barbosa's description of the food stuffs also tempers the grossly exaggerated picture of Nuniz

191. *Pārijātā*, canto II, v. 3.
192. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
194. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 113.
195. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 375.
196. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

for he says that the men ate flesh and fish and other meats saving beef only which was "forbidden by their perverse idolatry."[197]

Though meat seems to have been used by a few people, it appears that all did not use it. The Brahmans and the Lingāyats took only vegetarian food. Nuniz asserts that the former never killed or ate any living thing.[198] Barbosa too notes that their food consisted of honey, butter, rice, sugar, which stewed like pulse and milk. Similarly the Jaṅgamas also ate neither flesh nor fish.[199] We get also some idea about the meal in a Brahman's house from the *Āmuktamālyada*. In the spring it consisted of four or five good curries, ghee, butter, *vaḍāms, varavals,* good rice food, *rasam,* and in the preparation of all these cocoanuts were used. In the summer season it consisted of *kūḻu, ikṣurasam,* cocoanut water, fruits, good smelling water, mangoes and others quite welcome for the season.[200]

We learn about the royal kitchen from the chronicle of Nuniz. He says that the king had no expense in connection with his food (because his nobles sent it to him every day) which consisted of rice, wheat, meat and fowls with all the necessary things. In the royal kitchen there were some two hundred inferior guards with four persons over them and two officers of the guard, who were also captains of soldiers. But these 'porters' were not allowed to go further inside than through four or five doors, for there were only eunuchs and women inside.[201] The chronicler however contradicts himself when he says in another place that king Acyuta Rāya had ten women cooks for his personal service who prepared food for no one except the king himself.[202] But at times when the king gave banquets he employed a few others. He had a eunuch for guarding the gate of the kitchen, and it was his duty to see that no one entered the place for fear of poison. The king generally ate alone, and was served by women whose duty it was to prepare the table for him; they would place for him a three-legged stool, round and made of gold, and on it were put the messes which were brought

197. *Barbosa,* I, p. 217.
198. Sewell, *op. cit.,* p. 390.
199. *Barbosa,* I, pp. 217-18.
200. Canto I, vv. 80 and 81.
201. Sewell, *op. cit.,* p. 371.
202. *Ibid.,* p. 382.

in large vessels of gold while the smaller ones were brought in basins of gold some of which were adorned with precious stones. There was no cloth on the table, but one was brought only when the king had finished eating; then he washed his hands and mouth.[203]

Abdur Razāk says that it was the custom of the "infidels" not to eat in the presence of one another.[204] But Nuniz, while describing a banquet prepared by the brother of Dēva Rāya II, says that the nobles invited were at their table. However he notes that it was the custom among them to place upon the table all that there was for eating and drinking, and there was to be no one present in the hall except those that had come to eat.[205]

The ordinary people appear to have used only leaves to eat their food from. Thus an inscription of A.D. 1524 mentions that one Śūrapparāja freed the *Tammaḷa* servants of a temple from supplying leaves (used in eating food) to that temple free of cost in return for some work.[206] The leaves of areca palm also appear to have been used in taking food.[207] There appear to have been public eating houses in a few important places. Vijayanagar for instance had such an eating house, where stone slabs with hollows in them for rice and curries were used for eating. The travellers might have been required to pay according to the kind of slab they selected.[208] Besides such places there were many choultries where travellers were fed free for a particular number of days. A record of A.D. 1489-90 found at Koḍuvāy in the Chingleput district registers for instance the provision of *kambu* for meals for Brahman travellers.[209]

203. *Ibid.*, pp. 382-83.
204. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 115.
205. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 303; here the accounts of the Persian ambassador and Nuniz are contradictory. In the light of the latter's statement it is reasonable to hold that the former's statement is unreliable, and that only a few people, perhaps men of the low castes, were excluded from such banquets. Then again Nuniz's allusion to the custom of the servers of food remaining outside after laying the covers is not to be taken as the usual rule, for the peculiar circumstances and the reason for which that banquet was given would have necessitated the servants being kept outside the banqueting hall.
206. 91 of 1912.
207. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 35.
208. See Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, pp. 70-71.
209. 109 of 1920; see also 152 of 1901.

There appear to have been sweetmeat shops also (*miṭāyi aṅgaḍi*) in certain places in the empire.[210]

Dress

The sovereigns spent large sums of money on their dress. Dēva Rāya II appeared in court clothed in a robe of *zaitun* (satin).[211] According to Paes, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was dressed in certain white clothes embroidered with many roses in gold.[212] Nuniz also says that the kings wore silk clothes (*pachoiis*)[213] of very fine material and worked with gold which were worth each ten *pardaos;* they wore at times *bajuris* of the same sort which were like shirts with a skirt.[214] When they went to war they wore a quilted dress of cotton over which was put another garment with golden plasters with jewels all round it.[215]

The kings wore "a cap of gold brocade two spans long"[216] which according to Paes was in the fashion of a Galician helmet covered with a piece of fine stuff all of silk.[217] Nuniz who also saw the cap worn by Acyuta says, that it was worth twenty *cruzados* and adds that when he lifted it from his head, he never again put it on.[218]

The common people wore clothes as a girdle below "wound very tightly in many folds and short white shirt of cotton or silk or coarse brocade" which were gathered between the thighs but were open in front. On their heads they carried small turbans while some wore silk or brocade caps.[219] Caesar Frederick also describes the dress of the people as follows: "The apparell that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or

210. *Karnāṭaka Kavicarite*, II, p. 336.
211. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 113 and *fn.*
212. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
213. Silken trappings (*Ibid.*, p. 377).
214. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
215. *Varthema,* Jones, p. 129.
216. *Ibid.*
217. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-2.
218. *Ibid.*, p. 383; Barradas gives an account of the origin of these caps. See Saletore, *Pol. and Soc. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, II, p. 299.
219. *Barbosa*, I, p. 205.

Scarlet, girding themselves instead of Girdles with some fine Bumbast cloth; they have breeches after the order of the Turkes."[220]

Wool was very little used. Nicolo dei Conti says that the people used to wear a linen cloth round the body; he adds they could not wear more clothing on account of the great heat.[221]

The people were also accustomed to the use of shoes. Nicolo dei Conti observed that the people wore sandals with purple and golden ties.[222] Barbosa also noted the practice of the people using rough shoes on their feet (without stockings).[223] Paes describes the shoes thus: "The shoes have pointed ends, in the ancient manner, and there are other shoes that have nothing but soles, but on the top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those which of old the Romans were wont to wear, as you will find on figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy."[224] Caesar Frederick also mentions that the people wore on their feet plain high things called Aspergh.[225] But here too it was only the rich people that wore the shoes for as Paes himself says: "The majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted."[226] Nikitin also says that the people of the Deccan went about barefooted.[227]

Umbrellas also were in use. Barbosa describes vividly how they were held. He says: "They (the lords and the kings) also take another who holds an umbrella (lit. a shade hat with a handle) to shade them and keep off the rain, and of these some are made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels and precious stones and seed pearls. They are also so made as to open and shut and may cost three or four hundred *cruzados*."[228] Apparently all this does not refer to the ordinary people, for they lived in "grovelling poverty." Varthema says that the common people

220. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 99.
221. Major, *India*, p. 22.
222. *Ibid.*
223. *Barbosa*, I, p. 205.
224. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
225. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 99.
226. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
227. Major, *India*, p. 12.
228. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 206-07; Dames has a note on the umbrellas. He says: "From their elaborate ornamentation and high price they must have been a luxury used only by the most wealthy." (See *ibid.*, pp. 206-07 *fn.*).

went quite naked with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle.[229]

The women, viz., the courtezans and the wives of nobles, also wore very rich dress. Barbosa observes that they wore white garments of very thin cotton or silk of bright colours, five yards long, one part of which was girt round below and the other part thrown over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remained uncovered.[230] Pietro della Valle also gives an account of the dress of the women. According to him they were clothed with figured silk from the girdle downwards. As for the upper garment he says: "(They are) from thence upward either naked, or else with very pure linen, either of one colour, or striped and wrought with several, besides a scarf of the same work cast over the shoulder."[231] The women appear to have worn two clothes over their body, one a small one, covering the front of the person and the other a bigger one covering the whole body. Nicolo dei Conti says: "Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees and over this a garment of linen or silk, which......with the women (descends) to the ankles".[232] The *Āmuktamālyada* also refers almost to this kind of double dress worn by the women when it mentions the *pāvāḍa* and the *paiṭa* (mantle).[233]

Sometimes women appear to have worn a head dress. Paes notes that the women who took part in the *Mahānavami* festival wore high caps (*collaes*) embroidered with flowers made of pearls.[234] But neither Barbosa nor Pietro della Valle mentions this head dress worn by the women. But the former says that their heads were uncovered and the hair was "tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head."[235] The latter also states that their "heads were deck'd with yellow and white flowers formed into a high large diadem, with some striking out like sun beams and others twisted together, and hanging down in several fashions

229. *Varthema,* Jones, p. 129.
230. *Barbosa,* I, p. 207.
231. *Travels,* II, pp. 257-8.
232. Major, *India,* p. 22.
233. Canto VI, v. 18.
234. Sewell, *op. cit.,* p. 273.
235. *Barbosa,* I, p. 207.

which made a pretty sight."[236] Thus the head dress seems to have been worn by a few women only on certain ceremonial occasions.

In a few places women used to wear shoes. Nicolo dei Conti who noted this custom says : " In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather ornamented with gold and silk."[237]

But all this description refers only to high class women; others could not have afforded all these luxuries.

Section VI

Luxuries

The pageantry and grandeur of the court, and the character of a few classes of people gave rise to certain wants which came to be satisfied. The people craved after some luxuries which seemed to be necessary not only to maintain their position and status, but also to satisfy their passion for display. The luxuries consisted of ornaments, perfumes, betel and other stimulating substances.

Ornaments :

The Hindus had a great liking for costly ornaments which they generally wore on important occasions. No foreign traveller who visited Vijayanagar failed to be struck by the costly jewels worn by the sovereigns and the people alike. Abdur Razāk, for instance, referring to the ornaments worn by Dēva Rāya II, says that " he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence and the value of which a jeweller would find difficult to calculate ".[238] Paes too noted the *pateca* (*Padakkam*, pendant) of diamonds round Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's neck which was of very great value.[239]

As said above the people also used to bedeck themselves with costly ornaments. Abdur Razāk says: "All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers."[240] Barbosa mentions the

236. *Travels*, II, p. 258.
237. Major, *India*, p. 23.
238. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 113.
239. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
240. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 109.

many rings set with precious stones and many ear-rings set with many fine pearls on their ears.[241]

About the ornaments used by women we get equally valuable details. Barbosa speaks of the nose screws made of fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant, ear-rings set with many jewels, necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, bracelets of gold and precious stones and many coral beads fitted to their arms.[242] Paes' description of the women is more detailed. About the women that had assembled at the capital for the *Mahānavami* festival he says that they wore collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds, diamonds, rubies and pearls, many bracelets on their lower arms and many girdles of gold and precious stones which hung in order one below the other almost as far down as half the thigh. Besides these the women wore many other jewels such as strings of pearls round the ankles.[243]

The inscriptions also give us some idea of the ornaments used in those days. An epigraph of A.D. 1446 mentions the following ornaments: large diadem (*paṭṭa*), neck-ring (*paṭṭakkārai*), two joined neck-rings (*iraṇḍupaṭṭakkārai*), nose ornament (*mukkutti*), eyes for idols (*tirukkaṇmalar*), chest ornaments (*padakkam*), etc.[244]

As a mark of distinction the *gaṇḍapeṇḍāram* or the anklet of the heroes was worn by men of distinction.

Perfumes and Flowers:

The people used perfumes for their fragrance. They anointed themselves after their bath with white sandalwood, aloes, camphor, musk and saffron, all fine ground and kneaded with rose water.[245] The women used to apply saffron or musk to their breasts in winter.[246] Along with the perfumes can be mentioned the scented flowers used by the women.[247]

241. *Barbosa*, I , p. 207.
242. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-08.
243. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
244. 35 of 1891.
245. *Barbosa*, I, p. 205.
246. *Āmukta.*, II, v. 60.
247. *Barbosa*, I, p. 207.

Betel Leaf:

A stimulating substance which the people then used as they do now was the betel leaf, which they took along with lime and a piece of arecanut. The Persian ambassador notes this custom, and naively adds that " it is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plant, that the king of that country (Vijayanagar) is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio ".[248] It was used on all ceremonial functions, and it was the first thing offered to the visitors.[249] It was, however, the peculiar custom observed in the Vijayanagar court that no one except the dancing women were allowed to use the betel leaf in the presence of the king.[250]

Beds:

The luxurious extravagance which prevailed at the Vijayanagar court is also indicated by the costly and well equipped beds which were used in the palace. Paes and Nuniz give vivid descriptions of the beds and cots used in the palace. While describing a bed room in it, Paes says: " It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work over which is a work of rubies and diamonds[251] and all other kinds of precious stones, and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious stone work is in heart shape, and interweaved between one and another is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome are pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the porch, the cross bars covered with gold and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all around it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering ".[252] He also speaks of another " cot of silver with its curtains."[253] Nuniz also has something to say about the beds in the palace at Vijayanagar. Speaking about Acyuta Rāya he says: " The bedsteads in which his wives sleep are covered and adorned with silver plates. Every wife has her bed in which she sleeps, and that of the King is plated and lined and has all its legs of gold, its mattress of silk, and its round bolster worked round the ends with large seed pearls. It has four pillows of the same pattern for the feet, and

248. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 114.
249. Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, I, pp. 36-7.
250. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
251. See Sewell's note on this at p. 285, *ibid*.
252. *Ibid.*, p. 285.
253. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

has no other sheet than a silk cloth on top. He always carries with him a mosquito curtain with a frame of silver;[254] and he has a house made of pieces of iron in which is contained a very large bed, which is intended for such times as he takes the field."[255] He also says that he took with him a bedstead of ivory inlaid with gold if a son or daughter followed him to the battle-field.[256]

Swing-cots were also in use. Paes says that in a particular corridor there was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains. "The cot had feet made of bars of gold so well made that they could not be better, and the cross bars of the cot were covered with gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones and the cross bars were covered with gold."[257]

Vessels:

The luxury of the court was also seen in the vessels which were used in the palace. All the things made use of in the services in the palace, such as basins, bowls, stools, ewers and other articles were made of gold and silver. Rooms were covered with silver plates and gold wires.[258]

SECTION VII

Games and Amusements

An account of the social activities of the people will not be complete without mention being made of the games and amusements which they enjoyed. In fact these constitute the brighter side of the life of a people, but for which their social activities cannot have much interest and attraction.

One of the games that was largely participated in by the people high and low was wrestling. The one peculiarity about such wrestlings was that at them severe blows were given in such seriousness that teeth would be broken and eyes would be put out, faces would be disfigured and at times men had to be carried away speechless by their friends. They even gave fine falls too

254. See Sewell's note at p. 285 *op. cit.*
255. *Ibid.*, pp. 369-70.
256. *Ibid.*, p. 370.
257. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
258. See *Ibid.*, pp. 369-70; and also pp. 285, 289.

at times. They had their captains and judges who were there to put each one on an equal footing in the field and also to adjust the honours to him who won.[259] Nuniz confirms the above account of Paes when he says: "The king has a thousand wrestlers for these feasts who wrestle before the king but not in our manner for they strike and wound each other with two circlets with points, which they carry in their hands to strike with, and the one most wounded goes and takes his reward in the shape of a silk cloth such as the king gives to these wrestlers. They have a captain over them and they do not perform any other service in the kingdom."[260]

Du Jarric gives the following description of the wrestling matches: "One who would wrestle strips himself. Then several strong and brawny youths called *geitas* who are ready beforehand, rub the nobleman; then they box, jump, fence and take other kinds of exercise with him, in order to strengthen him; and this they do until perspiration flows freely. Then the *geitas* cover the whole of the nobleman's body with sand and massage him, and move his arms and legs in every direction, as if they would disjoint his bones. Finally the nobleman is brushed, anointed and washed with warm water; and when dry, dresses himself. Noblemen take this kind of exercise almost every day before dinner in order to be fit and healthy; thus men as old as seventy look only thirty".[261]

The kings themselves seem to have practised wrestling for Paes says that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya used to wrestle each day with one of his wrestlers.[262]

Along with wrestling, duelling seems to have been in vogue. Great honour was done to those who fought in a duel, and the estate of the dead man was given to the survivor. According to Nuniz who has left the above details, no one could fight a duel without first asking leave of the minister, which was however very formal, for it was forthwith granted.[263] Barbosa also mentions duels which he witnessed and his accounts are of great value inasmuch as they contain interesting details about them.

259. Paes: Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 271; see also p. 268.
260. *Ibid.*, p. 378.
261. Du Jarric, I, pp. 684-85; quoted by Heras in his *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 313-14.
262. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
263. *Ibid.*, pp. 383-84.

He says: "They are accustomed to challenge one another to duels, and when a challenge has been accepted and the king gives his permission, the day for the duel is fixed by the persons challenged, and the weapons to be used must be according to measure; that of the one of the same length as that of the other. The king appoints seconds and a field for the fight, and when this has been done, they go thither naked, covered only with some cloth wrapped round their middles, with very cheerful faces. Then after saying their prayers they begin to fight, and as they are bare it is over in a few strokes in the presence of the king and his court. No man may speak to them while they are fighting, except the seconds, each of them stands by his own man: and this is such a common practice among them that some are slain daily."[264] Castanheda also describes this practice, and he adds that the king gave a gold chain to the person whom he considered to be very brave in duelling and he was expected to defend it against anyone who challenged him. He also says that men engaged themselves in duels for the love of women, on account of which sometimes they lost their lives.[265]

There appear to have been special gymnasiums where these duels and wrestlings were conducted; and for their maintenance lands were granted tax-free. Thus a record at Candravaḷḷi dated A.D. 1677 records the grant of a rent-free land for maintaining a gymnasium.[266] The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* also mentions the existence of such a gymnasium at Tanjore.[267]

Fr. Du Jarric describes the gymnasium at Candragiri in the following terms: "The house fitted for this has a yard in the centre, the pavement of which is covered with a layer of lime so smooth that it looks like a mirror; there is a walk around it, spread over with red sand, on which they rest as on a soft bed."[268]

Hunting afforded another pastime not only to the rulers but also to the people. The Vijayanagar sovereigns took great inte-

264. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 190-91.

265. Castanheda, Bk. II, Ch. 16, p. 53, referred to in *Barbosa*, II, p. 236, *fn.*; see also Vol. I, p. 190, *fn.* 2; for Nuniz's account of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's invitation to Vīra Bhadra for a duel with a professional man, see Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-20.

266. *M.A.R.*, 1929, No. 2.

267. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 265.

268. Du Jarric I, p. 684-5, quoted by Rev. H. Heras in *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 313-14; see also Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

rest in elephant hunts; Dēva Rāya II was called a *Gajabeṭekāra* (hunter of elephants).[269] The king also took great delight in witnessing elephant hunts, which is indicated by the title *gajavēṭṭai kaṇḍu aruḷiya* (who witnessed the elephant hunt).[270]. Abdur Razāk gives a vivid description of the method followed in hunting and catching elephants.[271] Similarly boars and deer seem to have been hunted. The kings very often took the title *Gajamṛgayāvihāra* (sportful hunter of the elephant).[272] Dēva Rāya is said to have attempted a boar hunt.[273] In all these hunts, hawks and falcons seem to have been used on a large scale as is indicated by such words and titles as *sāḷuva* and *rāya pakṣi sāḷuva*.[274] Ferishtah however says that the Hindus were strangers to the use of hawks.[275] This is evidently wrong for we have evidence to show that the use of hawks was known to the Hindus as is indicated by the above titles.[276]

Horse riding was also a pastime of the people. The carvings on the temple walls representing men riding on horses shows to what great extent horses were used in wars. A certain chief Allappa Nāyaka was called in a record of A.D. 1383 Champion over Maṇḍalikas who mounted a horse with the help of a stool or stirrup.[277] This title shows how popular horse-riding was.

Among the other pastimes of the people the game of chess was one; and Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's daughter appears to have been an expert in that game.[278]

269. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 250; for a discussion on this title see the same.
270. 337 of 1908.
271. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, pp. 109-111.
272. *E.C.*, IV, Gu. 67.
273. *Ibid.*, Cn. 195.
274. *E.C.*, X, Mr. 1.
275. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 405.
276. See also Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 121, where falconers are mentioned as having been engaged by Dēva Rāya II, though we are not given the purpose for which they were engaged.
277. *M.A.R.*, 1914-15, para 59.
278. *Some Milestones of Telugu Literature*, by S. Subbaramayya Pantulu, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 299.

According to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (*Sources*, p. 138), Kṛṣna Rāya granted to poet Nandi Timmayya an *agrahāra* for his skill in playing dice. But the line under consideration is *Kṛṣnarāya kṣitīśa karuṇā samālabdha ghana caturantayāna mahāgrahāra sanmānayutuḍu,*' meaning who was honoured

Apart from these games which gave pleasure to the people, the theatre, dance and music gave great entertainment and amusement to them.

We get some details about the Vijayanagar stage from the literature of the period. Poet Gaṅgādhara, a contemporary of Mallikārjuna Rāya, composed a high-class drama in Sanskrit called *Gāṅgādāsapratāpavilāsam* at the request of prince Gaṅgādāsa the ruler of the Pavācala State. For this work, he was greatly honoured with a *kanakābhiṣeka* (bathing in gold). But there was no one found in that court to enact the drama. Hence an actor of the court of Mallikārjuna proposed to go to the court of Gaṅgādāsa to stage the new drama there.[279] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, himself a great scholar as we have seen, wrote a Sanskrit drama called *Jāmbavatīkalyāṇam.* In the prologue to the work it is said that it was enacted before the people assembled to witness the *Caitra* (Spring) festival of Virūpākṣa at Vijayanagar.[280] Inscriptional evidence also shows that theatres were known in the Vijayanagar days. An epigraph of A.D. 1514-15 records a gift of land by Karṇam Basaparasa, son of Sōmarasa of Tiruppattūru, to a certain Naṭṭuva Nāgayya, whose father Cegayya was connected with the drama *Tāyikuṇḍanāṭaka*, and to the daughter of Naṭṭuva Timmaya of Pōtavari who was a *pātrī* (actress?).[281] Thus farces seem to have not only been written in the Vijayanagar days, but also enacted before the public.

A miniature imitation of the drama was the puppet show, which seems to have been very popular in the Vijayanagar days. A record of A.D. 1521 registers the grant of the village of Uppa Kuntipale belonging to Sadali free of all imposts to the puppet player (*bommalāṭa*) Puruvati Puraṇar Vīrappa's son Kṛṣmappa (Kṛṣṇappa) by one Gaṅga Rāya Dēva Mahārāja Aya.[282] A record of an earlier date also mentions the puppet players. It begins as follows: " As the stage manager pulls the strings of the puppet and makes him dance, so(?) control my actions......"[283]

with *ghana caturantayāna* (palanquin?) and a *mahāgrāma* (great village) by the grace of Kṛṣṇa Rāya.'

279. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 66.
280. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
281. 558 of 1915.
282. E.C., X, Sd. 100.
283. E.C., XII, Gb. 29.

Dance is a necessary feature of a theatre and this art was greatly encouraged in the Vijayanagar court. Gōpa Tippa wrote a book on dancing.[284] This art was so perfect under the Vijayanagar kings that when for instance Abdur Razāk saw it exhibited before the idol during the *Mahānavami* festival, he was so enraptured that he says: "The girls began to move their feet with such grace that wisdom lost its senses and the soul was intoxicated with delight".[285] The *dēvadāsis* (servants of God) as the dancing girls were called were attached to temples, and when food was offered to God they danced before the idol and themselves gave Him food and all that was necessary.[286] Nuniz speaking about the dancing girls attached to the palace says that every Saturday they were obliged to go to the palace to dance and posture before the king's idol which was in the interior of his palace.[287] Barbosa says that these dancing girls were given training in dancing. There was a dancing hall in the palace where the ladies and courtezans underwent the necessary training. Paes gives a vivid description of the hall. The hall was long and narrow supported by many half pillars on all sides and gilt. Between every two pillars there was a panel. There were also images between them and between the images and pillars ran a design of foliage like plates all gilt with the reserves of leaves in red and blue. The images were those of dancing women having little drums. The designs of the panels showed the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there was a dancer in the proper position at the end of a dance. This was to teach the women, so that if they forgot the position in which they had to remain when the dance was done, they might look at the panels where was represented the position to be taken at the end of the dance. By this they were able to keep in mind what they had to do. There was also a painted recess where the women used to "cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs." There they were taught to make the whole body supple so that their dance might be made more graceful. The king used to watch these dances. In the middle of the wall in the hall was a golden image of a girl of twelve years with her arms in the position which she occupied

284. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 63.
285. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 118.
286. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.
287. *Ibid.*, p. 379.

at the end of a dance.[288] Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore was so proficient in the art and theory of dance that he was able to design a new type of dance which came to be called *Raghunātha-vilāsa*, after himself.[289]

Allied to the dance was the *kōlāṭṭam* or stick play. Young girls trimly clad used to go round the streets in small batches "all of them carrying in each hand a little round painted stick, about a span long or a little more, which they struck together after a musical measure to the sound of drums and other instruments, and one of the skilfullest of the company sung one verse of a song, at the end of which they all reply'd seven or eight times, in the number of their metre with the word *cole, cole, cole*.[290] They thus went to the temple followed by other women, and used to dance in circles in the temples till late in the night."[291] Pietro della Valle who noted this custom says that this was a festival which they celebrated for three days at the end of a certain feast in honour of Gaurī wife of Mahōdaka, and hence it was celebrated by girls.[292]

Music received great encouragement at the Vijayanagar court. Inscriptions mention the names of certain instruments like *bhēri, dundubhi, mahāmuraja*[293] and *vīṇā*.[294] The use of *tambūru* was well known, and an inscription of A.D. 1533 records a grant of land made by one Allappa Nāyaka to the Tamburine players (*tammaṭukararige*) of the Hanūmanta temple at Huruvaḷi.[295] According to the Ying Yai Shēng Lan the musical instrument of the people of Calicut was made of the bottle gourd with strings made of copper wire. It says that in singing the music the harmonious tinkling of pieces of metal could be heard in the accompaniment.[296] It appears that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries considera-

288. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 288-89.
289. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 291.
290. This evidently is the refrain of the song:
Kōlu kōlē kōlanna kōlē
Kōlu kōlē celi mēlu kōvē
291. Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 258-9.
292. *Ibid.*, p. 259. The festival referred to is the well-known *Gobbi Panḍuga*, corresponding to the Tamil *Poṅgal.*
293. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 153.
294. *E.C.*, II, Sb. 258.
295. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 379; for another reference see *E.C.*, XII, Gb. 29.
296. Rockhill, Notes on the Relations and Trade of China, *Toung Pao*, XVI, p. 458.

ble change was brought about in the science of music in South India which led to the writing of books on the subject. Gōpa Tippa wrote a book on music determining the different ways of keeping time.[297] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is said to have been unrivalled in music and rhetoric.[298] Kṛṣṇa, a great scholar and musician, who had specialised in the art of playing on the *vīṇā*, and who was the great grandfather on the maternal side of Rāghavēndra, taught the emperor Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya how to play on the *vīṇā* and got from him as *gurudakṣiṇā* a costly pearl necklace and other jewels.[299] Śrīpādarāyasvāmi, said to have been *a guru* of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, is credited with the composition of hundreds of scientific musical compositions, like the *Ugābhoga, Suḷādi, Gīta*, and *Prabandha*. Śrī Vādirāja Svāmi, Purandara dāsa and Kanaka dāsa who belonged to the Dāsa kūṭa composed two classes of songs, *Gītas* and *Prabandhas* on the one hand and *Ugābhogas* on the other.[300] It is said that Purandara dāsa illustrated each *rāga* by a song and the total number of his compositions is estimated at 4,75,000.[301]

Rāma Rāya took great pleasure in music on the *vīṇā* and singing.[302] Further according to the *Svaramelakalānidhi* of Rāmayāmātya, Rāma Rāya spent his time amidst scholars versed in music and other arts. This Rāmayāmātya exhibited his skill in the art of music. At the suggestion of Veṅkaṭādri he also wrote his *Svarameḷakalānidhi*, a book on music, and in this work he has tried to settle several points of dispute among scholars about music.[303]

Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore was a great authority on music. He was the author of new *rāgas* like *Jayantasēna* and new *tāḷas* like *Rāmānanda*. He is also said to have taught the art of playing on the *vīṇā* to many musicians. He was also the inventor of a new *mēḷa* after his own name in which any recognised *rāga* could be played.[304]

297. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 63.
298. *E.I.*, I, p. 401.
299. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
300. *Vijayanagar Centenary Volume*, p. 375.
301. See *Q.J.M.S.*, XXIX, No. I, p. 21.
302. E.C., XII, Ck. 39.
303. *Svarameḷakalānidhi*, edited by M. S. Ramaswamy Ayyar, *Intro.*, pp. xv-lxii; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 190.
304. *Saṅgītasudhā*, S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 269.

Veṅkaṭa Makhi, the son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita of Tanjore, wrote an important work on music called *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā*. He was a disciple of Tānappācārya who was a descendent in the scholastic line of Śārṅgadēva. His work analyses the basis of the present day southern system of music and treats of its *rāga* classification. " The *rāgas* are arranged under seventy-two primary *rāgas* called *mēḷakartas* with a large number of derivative *rāgas* attached to each. This author makes use of the twelve semitones only in describing the *rāgas* ".[305]

The women were also able to understand the two sorts of music, *Karnāṭa* and *Dēśa*. They were able to sing very sweetly and to play on the *vīṇā* and such other musical instruments as the *Rāvaṇahasta*. Raghunātha examined the proficiency of all of them and honoured them with *kanakābhiṣeka*. Some of the songs sung before him were designed by himself. The chief *rāgas* that were sung were *Jayamaṅgaḷa*, *Simhalalīla*, *Jayanissaru* (?) and *Kacaccaritra*. Some of the *tāḷas* to which they were played were *Ratilīla*, *Turaṅgalīla*, *Raṅgābharaṇa*, *Anaṅgaparikramaṇa*, *Abhinandana*, *Nandanandana* and *Abhimāla*.[306]

305. Popley, *The Music of India*, pp. 18-19.
306. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Rāmabhadrāmbā, S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 291.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGION

SECTION I

Introductory

The centuries following the Christian era were marked by the spread of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in South India.

The Śaiva saints Tirunāvukkaraśu, Tirujñānasambanda, Sundara and Māṇikkavācaka and the Nāyanmārs started the *bhakti* movement in South India. The first three wrote the *Dēvārams*, while Māṇikkavācaka wrote the *Tiruvācakam*. All of them stressed the importance of *bhakti*. Side by side with this *bhakti* movement was another movement which stressed the importance of the philosophical aspect of religion. This was headed by Śrī Śaṅkara (8th century) who expounded the doctrine of Vedānta and based his philosophy on the Vedas and Smṛtis. He saw no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu, and his philosophy was a rigorous monism. To propagate his theories, he is said to have established four *maṭhas* at four places—Śṛṅgēri, Kāñcī, Jagannāth and Dvārakā over each of which he appointed a pontiff to be followed in regular succession.

Similarly with regard to Vaiṣṇavism, there appeared in South India a few Vaiṣṇava teachers who were known as the Āḻvārs. They were twelve in number, and among them prominent mention may be made of Pōygai Āḻvār, Namma Āḻvār, Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār, Periya Āḻvār and Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār. Their works "may be described as welling with a genuine love of an extremely intense degree for Viṣṇu, and in their earnestness and fervour they stand only on a par with the equally strong and touching appeals to God made in the *Dēvāram* by the Śaiva saints. Their love or *bhakti* is the foundation of the doctrine of *prapatti* which looms large in the Vaiṣṇava philosophy."[1] Later than the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, flourished a few Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas such as Nāthamuni and Āḷavandār (Yamunācārya), who propounded and elaborated the philosophy of the Āḻvārs. They were followed by

1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hist. of Śrī Vaishnavism in South India*, p. 29

Śrī Rāmānujācārya who lived in the 11th and 12th centuries. While Śaṅkara emphasised the monistic theory, Rāmānuja propounded the theory of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. According to the *Advaita* doctrine of Śaṅkara, Brahman alone is real, and all else is illusory manifestation (*māyā*), but according to the *Viśiṣṭādvaidic* position all things are real and permanent as attributes inseparable from the one Brahman.

In the thirteenth century there lived another great philosopher and thinker called Madhvācārya who preached the doctrine of the *Dvaita* philosophy. He argued that the individual soul was not one with the supreme God, but separate, and that all things were real and permanent.

These movements were slowly spreading in the country, when all of a sudden, in the fourteenth century, the Muhammadan invasions with their concomitant results gave a fresh impetus for the religious movements in South India.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, India south of the Vindhyas presented a deplorable picture. It was then a land of warring kingdoms and principalities being divided among four important powers, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, the Hoyśālas of Dvārasamudra and the Pāṇḍyas in the extreme south. It was at this time that the Sultans of Delhi began to interfere in South Indian politics, and thus drove a wedge into the confusion that prevailed in that part of India. Muḥammad Bin Tughlak invaded the Hoyśāla territory in 1327 and compelled Ballāḷa III to submit. The dispute between Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya in the Pāṇḍyan court in the extreme south over the succession question weakened the empire and made it easy for the Mahammadan invaders to interfere in her affairs, plunder her territories and add to the confusion in the country.[2] After the preliminary excursions had been led into South India, Muḥammad Bin Tughlak "subdued the whole of the Karnāṭak both in length and breadth even to the shore of the sea of Oeman"[3] in 1327 and appointed Jalāl-ud-din to rule over Madura which he had made a province of the Delhi empire. But Jalāl-ud-din declared his independence. Tughlak arranged an expedition against the rebellious chief but his attempt proved abortive. The Madura Sultan was murdered and was succeeded

2. See K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri, *The Paṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 201-11.
3. Briggs, *The Rise*, I, p. 413.

by his son-in-law Ghiyās-ud-din, who in the course of a war with Vīra Ballāḷa inflicted "the worst of all defeats" on the Hindus and murdered the Hoyśāla ruler. Ghiyās-ud-din was successively followed on the throne by Nāsir-ud-din, 'Ādil Shāh, Fakr-ud-din Mubārak Shāh and 'Alā-ud-din Sikandar Shāh. The Sultanate seems to have come to a close about 1377-78 as a result of the early wars of the Vijayanagar prince Kampaṇa.

The Muhammadan occupation of South India was a regular tyranny. Ibn Baṭūṭa found his brother-in-law Ghiyās-ud-din to be a cruel tyrant and observes that he was "a fiend in human shape." The temples were the objects of Muhammadan attack, and the renowned shrines of Śrīraṅgam and Cidambaram suffered worst. As soon as the Muhammadans had reached near Śrīraṅgam, the image of Śrīraṅganātha was taken away from the place by Vēdānta Dēśika. The *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* says: "The proper tutelary deity of Madura went into the Malayalam country. Then the wall of the temple, the fourteen towers on it and the streets inside were destroyed."[4] An epigraph describes the rule of the Muhammadans at Madura in the following terms: "The times were Tulukkan (Muhammadan) times; the *devadāna* lands of the Gods were taxed with *kudimai*; the temple worship, however, had to be done without any reduction; the *uḷavu* or cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the village."[5] The *Madhurāvijayam* of Gaṅgādēvī also gives a vivid but somewhat poetic description of the character and effects of the Muhammadan occupation of Madura. It says: "The place now known as Vyāghrapuri (Cidambaram) has been continuously so, for tigers inhabit it now where men once dwelt, the Vimāna (the dome of the central shrine) of Śrīraṅgam is so dilapidated that now it is the hood of Ādiśēṣa alone that is protecting the image of Raṅganātha from the falling debris. The Lord of Gajāraṇya (Tiruvāṇaikkāval, Jambukēśvaram near Śrīraṅgam), who once killed an elephant to obtain its skin for his garment, has now again been reduced to this condition, because he is stripped bare of all the clothing; while the *garbhagṛha* (central shrine) of many another temple is crumbling, its *maṇṭapa* overgrown with vegetation and the wooden doors of the temple eaten up by white ants. Where there resounded once the joyous music of the *mṛdaṅgam* (a kind of drum) there is heard at present the howl

4. *Or. His. Mss.*, I, p. 35.
5. *M.E.R.*, 1916, para 33.

of the jackal that has made it its abode. The river Kāvērī that was curbed by proper dams and flowed in regular channels has begun to run in all directions. In the *agrahāras* where the smoke issuing from the fire offerings (*Yāgadhūma*) was largely visible, and in which the chant of the Vedas was everywhere audible, we have now the offensive smelling smoke issuing from the roasting of flesh by the Muhammadans and the harsh voice of these ruffians alone is heard there. The beautiful cocoanut trees which were gracing the gardens surrounding the city of Madura have been cut down by these intruders, and in place of these we see plenty of *śūlas* (stakes for impaling persons) with garlands made by stringing human heads together, resembling and recalling in a remote manner the cocoanut trees. The water of the river Tāmraparṇī which used to be rendered white by the sandal paste rubbed away from the breasts of the youthful maidens who were bathing in it is now flowing red with the blood of cows slaughtered by these monstrous sinners."[6]

Thus the Muhammadan occupation of South India created a feeling of great horror among the Hindus. The Hindus rose up from their slumber and felt the necessity for united action. They wanted to stem the tide of Muhammadan aggression beyond the south of the Kṛṣṇā. This desire to strengthen the cause of Hindu unity in South India necessitated their united action and the foundation of a strong government. The establishment of this empire which was to play a very important part in the history of South India marked the assertion of Hindu independence by South India.

The object of the foundation of Vijayanagar was religious in character. The Hindus were anxious to preserve their religion, traditions, and *Dharma* from the onslaughts of Islam. This work necessitated a greater amount of attention being paid to the religious revival in the land. This activity in the field of religion to save it from Islam led also to greater attenion being paid to literature, for in India the character and number of literary productions depended largely on the religious movements in the country. Thus the foundation of Vijayanagar had three effects: the Muhammadans were held in check, the religious revival was given an impetus, and the period was marked by a great literary renaissance

6. *Madhurāvijayam, Intro.*, pp. 5-6.

Soon after its foundation, the Saṅgama brothers and their sons, especially Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka, engaged themselves in freeing South India from Muhammadan domination. According to the *Kōyiloḻugu,* the idol of Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam after having been taken to Tirunārāyaṇapuram by way of Jyōtiṣkuḍi, Tirumāliruñjōlai (Aḻagarkōyil), Kōlikkūḍu (Calicut) and Puṅganūr, was kept at that place for some time after which it was finally removed to Tirupati. When Gōpaṇṇa, the ruler of Jīñji, heard of the vicissitudes of the idol, he had it removed to Jiñji where he kept it in the beautiful rock-cut shrine of Raṅganātha at Śiṅgavaram near his capital. Meanwhile the chief who was left in charge of Śrīraṅgam removed his headquarters to Kaṇṇanūr, a village six miles north of Śrīraṅgam, owing to considerations of health, and fortified that place with the stones obtained by demolishing the outer enclosures of the Śrīraṅgam temple. Through the good offices of a dancing girl of Śrīraṅgam who was on intimate relations with the Muhammadan chief with the object of saving the temple from destruction, a Kaniyāḷa Brahman named Śiṅgappirāṉ secured a post in the service of the Muhammadan chief and was serving him faithfully. As soon as news of the foundation of Vijayanagar reached the ears of the distressed people of South India Tirumanattun Nambi, the son of Śiṅgappirāṉ, sent one Uttama Nambi, one of the *sthānattārs* of the temple, to inform Gopaṇṇa about the condition of Śrīraṅgam. Soon communications were started between Jiñji and Śamayavaram. In 1370-71 Gōpaṇṇa defeated the Muhammadan chief " who had degenerated by drink and debauchery and become thoroughly powerless to resist an attack," and re-established the image of Raṅganātha in the temple.[7]

The activities of Kampaṇa in the south proved a death-knell to the Muhammadan domination in the south. Ruined temples were restored by him and worship in them was revived. When

7. See *Madhurāvijayam,* pp. 12-25; Taylor, *Or. His. Mss.,* II, p. 111; 18 of 1899; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India under the Muhammadan Invaders,* p. 116. *The Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* describes in vivid colours how the temple looked when it was opened by Kampaṇa. It says: "Then things were found precisely as on the day when the temple was shut; the lamp that was lighted on that day, the sandal wood powder, the garland of flowers, and the ornaments usually placed on the morning of festival days were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them on the same evening of such festival days." (Taylor, *Or. His. Mss.,* I, pp. 35-7).

he was active in the south the enthusiastic sons of Saṅgama were active in the north. In the arduous task of stemming the tide of Islamic aggression, they were helped by the distinguished pontifical heads of the Śṛṅgēri maṭha, Vidyātīrtha and Vidyāraṇya. Later tradition even goes to the extent of crediting Vidyāraṇya with the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar for the preservation of Hindu religion and *Dharma*. Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita of the Pāśupata school of Saivism also joined hands in the Hindu effort to save South India from Islamic aggression. "It is a recognised element of national psychology that where a society is on the defence it cherishes every inherited tradition and holds fast to all things good and bad which it has inherited. Conservatism becomes a national virtue; the maintenance of what has been a point of national honour. That is not the time for reforms, for the raison d'etre of the State is the defence of what exists. The orthodoxy of the kings became therefore the central point in the State. Hence it is that the great States which stood out the Mahommedan influence........like Vijayanagar........became the citadels of orthodoxy, places where customs, which in a free India never had universal acceptance, came to be considered orthodox and unchangeable."[7a] The ideal for which Vijayanagar and its kings stood is well indicated by an epigraph of A.D. 1376 which states: "In the world Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) was born to Yaśōdā and Nanda Gōpa and gave them a promise that he would eventually reappear as a king to deliver the world when it was overspread by Mlecchas. Accordingly he was born in the region of Pampāpuri to Saṅgama and his wife Kāmāmbikā as Bukkamahīpati."[8] It was an epoch of religious excitement and moral awakening when the forces of Hinduism were strengthened. The interest of the kings in such a movement is well borne out by such titles as *Vedamārgapratiṣṭhāpanācārya* and *Vaidikamārga pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* which the early rulers of Vijayanagar took. It was also a period when "the teachings of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhvācārya, the doctrine of the *Vedānta*, *Advaita* and *Dvaita* schools, the creed of the Jaṅgamas or Liṅgāyats, etc., were led to interminable discussions all urging their respective tenets with a zeal."[9]

7a. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, *Origin and Evolution of Kingship in India*, pp. 153-54.

8. *E.C.*, IV, Yd. 46; *Intro.*, p. 23.

9. Elliot, *Num. Orient.*, p. 92.

According to the *Guruparamparā,* Vidyāraṇya, the *Advaita* teacher, and Akṣōbhyamuni, the follower of the *Dvaita* philosophy, had a controversy regarding their respective doctrines of illusion (*māyā*) and reality (*tattva*). Both of them sent their contentions through the king of Vijayanagar to Vēdānta Dēśika (then at Śrīraṅgam) for arbitration. But the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* teacher decided in favour of Akṣōbhyamuni. Though the chronology contained in the story is not above suspicion yet " the story...... sufficiently illustrates the state of conflict between the two schools of philosophy."[10] But such hot controversies and differences of opinion in regard to highly philosophical questions did not prevent the rival schools from working together for the preservation of their religion. The activities of Vidyāraṇya who was on very intimate terms with the royal house of Vijayanagar are known to us better. He helped Bukka I and Harihara II in the task of religious revival and tried to do his work with their help. He added to his religious undertakings others of a political nature and boldly played the part of a statesman and empire builder.[11] Vidyāraṇya is said to have invited Vēdānta Dēśika who was living at Satyamaṅgalam to Vijayanagar perhaps to work together. But the Dēśika appears to have preferred a life of seclusion whence he could work for the emancipation of the country to one of active participation in the political movements of the period, in which respect he was a shining contrast to the great *Advaita* techer of the fourteenth century.

To save South India from the Islamic onslaughts and to revive the Hindu religion, literary works had to be produced, and commentaries on ancient works had to be written to expound and explain the tenets of the Hindu religion. The foundation of Vijayanagar coincided in point of time with the outburst of a momentous literary movement in South India. Since the fourteenth century there flourished in the Vijayanagar empire a succession of eminent scholars in the different branches of literature and who were followers of the different schools of philosophy of South India. It was an age of intense literary activity beginning with Sāyaṇācārya and Vēdānta Dēśika.[12] On account of the

10. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV, p. 293; *Life and Times of Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika* by, V. Rangachary; see also C. M. Padmanabhachar, *The Life and Teachings of Madhvāchariar* (Coimbatore, 1909); See *contra.* Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism,* pp. 59 *ff.*

11. See *M.A.R.*, 1908, paras 18-19.

12. Mookerjee, *Local Government,* p. 13.

destruction of the Hindu kingdoms in the Deccan, a large number of scholars migrated to South India and received great patronage under the Vijayanagar sovereigns. Sāyaṇācārya and his brother Mādhavācārya founded a school which wrote commentaries on the *Vedas, Āraṇyakas* and the *Brāhmaṇas.* Thus the epoch was one of great religious and literary activity.

In the Vijayanagar days all the religious sects in South India such as the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Madhva, Jain, Muhammadan and in the later Vijayanagar period, even the Christian were living side by side with one another. The Rāyas of Vijayanagar generally tried to encourage the religious movements in the empire.

SECTION II

Hinduism

1. *Śaivism* :

Among the Hindu religious groups in the Vijayanagar empire the Śaivas constituted a large majority. They may be classified under three broad smaller groups : (i) Advaitins or Smārtas, (ii) Pāśupatas and (iii) Vīra Śaivas.

(i) *Advaitins*: The Advaitins were the followers of the philosophy of Śrī Śaṅkara who preached the theory of non-dualism. In the Vijayanagar empire there were two *maṭhas* said to have been established by Śrī Śaṅkara ; one of them was at Śṛṅgēri and the other at Kāñcī, later transferred to Kumbakōṇam. There were also two minor *maṭhas*, one at Puṣpagiri and the other at Virūpākṣam, but it is difficult to say when they were founded. The great scholar and literary celebrity, Vidyāraṇya, was an Advaita teacher and his *maṭha* at Śṛṅgēri was greatly patronised by the Vijayanagar kings. In A. D. 1346 the five Saṅgama brothers made a joint grant to that *maṭha.*[13] Vidyāraṇya himself seems to have died at Hampi.[14] The Śaṅkarācārya *maṭha* at Kāñcī was also, as we shall see in the sequence, greatly patronised by the Vijayanagar sovereigns.

From time to time the Vedāntist school of Śaṅkara produced scholars of eminence and repute who wrote works and expounded the *Advaita* doctrines. They had also controversies with the exponents of the other schools of philosophy. Tradition affirms

13. *E.C.*, VI, Sr. 1.
14. *M.A.R.*, 1916, para 97.

that Vidyāraṇya had a philosophical dispute with Akṣōbhya Muni, a disciple of Madhva and an exponent of the *Dvaita* philosophy. Appayya Dīkṣita, a great scholar and philosopher who flourished in the sixteenth century, was a controversialist and had disputes on questions of high philosophy with Vijayīndra Tīrtha of the Madhva *maṭha* at Kumbakōṇam.

(ii) *Pāśupatas*: During the Vijayanagar period there flourished along with the Advaitins or Smārtas, the Pāśupatas. They paid greater attention to the Śaiva Āgamas though they did not reject the Vedas on that account. By the Vijayanagar period the Śaivas of this school had spread in portions of South India. They had their own *gurus* and interpreters. The first few kings of Vijayanagar appear to have been followers of this school of Śaivism. Harihara I and Bukka I appear to have been the disciples of Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti who was a Pāśupata. He was also the *guru* of the great minister and general Mādhava, who mentions him in one of his grants of A.D. 1368.[15] At the instance of this Kriyāśakti guru, Mādhava carried out a special Śaiva vow, lasting for a year at the end of which he made a gift from the funds of his own property to eighty learned Kāṣmīr Brahmans who were well versed in the Śaiva rites and were devoted to the Śaiva creeds.[16] It was probably he that inspired the compilation of the *Śaivāgamasāra Saṁgraha* written jointly by Mārappa and Mādhava.[17] Harihara considered him to be his *kulaguru*.[18] Kumāra Kampaṇa who conquered the Southern districts for the Vijayanagar empire also accepted Kriyāśakti guru as his *kulaguru*.[19] Immaḍi Bukka, son of Harihara, made a grant to the temple of Vidyāśaṅkara with the permission of Kriyāśakti.[20] According to an epigraph at Vāgata in the Bangalore district, Kriyāśakti himself made a grant of some lands to the local Viṣṇu temple.[21] These two inscriptions indicate in unmistakable terms that Kriyāśakti guru, though a follower of the orthodox Śaiva school, was tolerant not only to the Advaitins but also to the Vaiṣ-

15. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.
18. *E.C.*, V, Cn. 256.
19. *M.E.R.*, 1925, para 30; *M.A.R.*, 1918; paras 105-106; *Madhurāvijayam* Canto 1, v. 4. Mādhavācārya calls himself the *kulaguru* of Bukka. Probably the sons of Saṅgama had more than one *kulaguru*.
20. E.C., X, Mb. 11.
21. E.C., IX, Hk. 129.

ṇavas. This speaks highly of the general spirit of tolerance that prevailed in the empire.[22]

(iii) *Vīra Śaivas*: The Vīra Śaivas constituted an influential religious sect in the empire. They were another off-shoot of the Śaivas. Vīra Śaivism as a religion was given a popular turn by Basava (Vṛṣabha), a minister and contemporary of king Bijjala of the Kaḷacūryas. The way had however been prepared for him by a succession of Śaiva teachers. They did not concern themselves very much with the philosophical doctrines of the Vedāntins. "What philosophy the Jaṅgamas professedly have is Vedāntic, but in fact they are deistic (not pantheistic) disciples of . . . . . Basava (Vṛṣabha) who taught Śiva worship in its grossest form, the adoration of the Liṅga (Phallus) ; while his adherents, who spread all over India under the name of Jaṅgamas, 'vagrants,' or Liṅgāyits 'Phallus wearers', are idolatrous deists with but a tinge of Vedantic mysticism."[23] They are staunch Śaivas and carry the phallic (Liṅgam) always with them. They reject the authority of the Vedas, disbelieve the doctrine of re-birth, object to child marriage, approve of the remarriage of widows, and cherish an intense aversion to Brahmans. They constitute even now a very powerful community in the Kanarese country, especially among the trading classes.

(iv) *Śaiva Siddhāntins*: By the Vijayanagar days religion had become too much associated with ritualistic ceremonials on the one hand and philosophical speculations on the other. The caste system had become rigid, and ceremonials had taken the place of devotion. Hence there was a general revolt against the rigidity of caste and the elaborateness of rituals, and the scope for the study of the religious literature of the country was expanded by the free use of the vernaculars. This widespread discontent against rigid orthodoxy resulted in the rise and spread of the cult of Śaiva Siddhāntism among the Śaivas. The author of this

22. A record of A.D. 1377 mentions Singaṇṇa Oḍeya, the grandson of Kampaṇa I, as a disciple of *Ākāśavāsi* Sāmavēdigāru. It is stated in the inscription that he received the initiation (*upadeśa*) of Bhuvanēśvari from that *guru*, and on that occasion he made a grant of the village of Perusalu to his *guru* (681 of 1917). The term *Ākāśavāsi* seems to be a variant of the more familiar term *Ākāśamukhin* which indicates that the members of this sect lived always mentally in heaven. But we do not have more details about them. See *M.E.R.*, 1918, para 66; See also Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 88.

23. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 482.

movement was one Meykaṇḍadēva who wrote the *Śivajñāna-bōdham* which contains the principles and tenets of that creed.[24] He stressed the importance of Śiva in the religious pantheon, and made Śaivism the popular religion among the masses. Meykaṇḍa had a worthy line of followers in Pattiragiriyar, Paṭṭaṇattu Piḷḷaiyār, Parañjōti Muṉivar and a few others. They stressed the importance of *bhakti* or devotion in preference to rituals and ceremonies. Śiva Vākyar ridiculed idol worship thus: "What is the use of decking stones with flowers ? What true religion is there in the ringing of bells, the performance of set obeisances, the going around fanes, the floating of incense, the offering of things arranged as if in a market ?" About pilgrimages he asked: "Can a bath in the Ganges turn black into white?" But he said: "Shun illusions, repress the senses, then the sacred waves of Kāśi will swell within your breast." Paṭṭaṇattu Piḷḷaiyār had no love of life. He says about the body: "It is a property claimed by various agents—by fire, by worms, by the earth, by kites, jackals, and curs. Its ingredients, moreover, are nasty and of bad odour". He insists upon the love of God. To him forms of worship and the scriptures are all 'godward perfidy'. He pleads for the true love of God.[25] This movement slowly spread in South India during the Vijayanagar days.

2. *Vaiṣṇavism*:

The Vijayanagar days were very propitious for the spread of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in South India. Since the days of Rāmānuja, the great Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosopher and teacher, the Vaiṣṇava creed was gaining a large number of adherents. But in the course of a

24. The date of Meykaṇḍa is one of doubt. Prof. Seshagiri Śāstri, suggests that he lived about A.D. 1550. (*Rep. on Sans. and Tam. Mss.*, 1896-97, pp. 52 and 56). The author of the *Madras Manual* assigns him to the eleventh century and says that the Siddar schools came into existence after Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya whom he places in the eleventh century (Vol. I, pp. 57 and 120). Gopinatha Rao however thinks that Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya lived about A.D. 1236 (*Madras Review*, 1904). See in this connection *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 156-57. Meykaṇḍa appears to have lived in the twelfth century at the latest. Umāpati Śiva, fourth in the spiritual succession to Meykaṇḍa, wrote his *Saṅkarpa Nirākaraṇam* in Ś. 1235 (A.D. 1313). See S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, *Śaiva Siddhānta Varalāṟu*, p. 33.

25. See *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, pp. 157-58; see also *Madras Univ. Journal*, Vol. II, No. I, pp. 111-127 for an article on the Truth in the Śaiva Siddhānta by S. S. Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstri.

few decades his followers had effected certain modifications in his teachings and introduced doctrines and practices which the founder of the sect had not enjoined and would not have sanctioned.

Thus within a few years after the death of Rāmānuja the Vaiṣṇavas had fallen into two camps, each with particular views on the different religious and social questions. Their differences were generally doctrinal and social in character. The first point at issue was whether Sanskrit or Tamil was to be the medium of worship, whether the Sanskrit Vedas or the Tamil *Prabandhas* were to be read for the attainment of salvation. Rāmānuja by himself drew no difference between the Sanskrit works and the Tamil works with regard to their use in religious worship: but later when the Vaiṣṇavas came to be divided into two wide and distinct groups each preferred one language. While the Vaḍagalai Vaiṣṇavas preferred the Vedas to the Tamil *Prabandhas*, the Teṅgalai Vaiṣṇavas preferred the Tamil *Prabandhas* to the Sanskrit literature. But while the former did not neglect Tamil, and in fact Vēdānta Dēśika wrote many Tamil works, the latter neglected Sanskrit.

The question as to the method by which salvation could be attained was also one of the grounds for the differences between the two schools. The doctrine of *bhakti* as a most essential requisite for attaining Heaven had been developed by the Āḷvārs into that of *prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati* (self-surrender). Rāmānuja who was a Vaiṣṇava Vedāntin accepted this doctrine of self-surrender, and interpreted the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedānta Sūtras* in the light of this doctrine. But after his days disputes arose among the Vaiṣṇavas as to the circumstances and method by which one could attain salvation. The Vaḍagalai school held that before one surrendered himself to the divine will, he must try to attain salvation by his own effort; it was only after he found that he could not attain salvation by such unaided effort, that he might abjectly surrender to the divine grace. But the Teṅgalai school held that for a man desiring salvation, self-effort was not necessary for the divine grace was spontaneous and overflowing, and hence one could reach Heaven even without his self-effort, if only he surrendered himself to God. Their views on this question are expressed by an analogy. The Vaḍagalais said that the individual must make efforts to get saved in the same way as the young one of a monkey clings to its mother while she is hopping from place to place; but the Teṅgalais argued that God's grace being spontaneous, acted like a cat carrying the kitten in its mouth; hence even without one's self-effort one could attain salvation, and there was required nothing

but an attitude of receptivity to the free flow of grace.[26] Commenting on this question, Bhandarkar says: "The tendency of Rāmānuja's system seems to be to give an exclusive Brahmanic form to the traditional method of *bhakti* or devotion to God, and this is definitely seen in the doctrines of the Vaḍagalai, while the Teṅgalai, or south learning, is more liberal and so shapes the doctrines of the system as to make them applicable to Śūdras also."[27]

This difference in the idea as regards the nature of God's grace led to another differentiation with regard to sin and forgiveness. The Teṅgalai school held that since God's grace was spontaneous, sins might be committed by men with impunity, but the Vaḍagalai school contended that sins could not be committed with impunity, for God simply ignored the commission of sins, but did not welcome them.

The two schools again held different views as regards the position of Lakṣmī. The Vaḍagalai school held that Lakṣmī could not be considered as one different from God, for she lived in and through him; she was one with the Lord and hence co-operated with him in his duties of the preservation of the universe. But the Teṅgalai school relegated her to a lower position, argued that she was as much a finite being as any body else, but held a superior position as a servant of God, and was only a mediator between the sinner and the Lord. According to them she could only plead for the sinning soul, but did not have any power of independent action.

As regards the institution of caste there were differences between the two sects. The Vaḍagalais believed in the caste system and held that one was bound by the rules governing his *varṇa*; but the Teṅgalais held that a true *prapanna* rose above all castes and creeds, and said that a man of the lower order was equal to a Brahman if he was a true *bhakta*.

Similarly the Teṅgalais were liberal enough to think that spiritual knowledge could be obtained through a teacher of the lower order, while the Vaḍagalais opposed such notions. The Vaḍagalais believed in pilgrimages, but the Teṅgalais had no such belief in theory at least. As regards religious ceremonies like a *śrāddha*, there were differences between them. While the Vaḍagalais held that food must be offered to God alone on the *śrāddha* day, their opponents held that it must be offered to the Nityās and Ācāryas

26. *Ind. Rev.*, Dec., 1908.
27. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other minor religions*, p. 57.

also. Then again while the former believed in the efficacy of sacrifices, the latter denounced them as involving cruelty to animals. In social practices also there arose differences between them. While the Vaḍagalais put a *nāmam* like this the Teṅgalais put it like this . While the former enjoined the tonsure of widows, the latter objected to it and said there was no sanction for such tonsure. During the time of *pūja*, the Teṅgalais did not ring bells, for it was supposed that Vēdānta Dēśika was an *avatār* of the *Ghaṇṭā* of Veṅkaṭanātha but the Vaḍagalais rang the bells. The Teṅgalai people prostrated themselves before each other irrespective of the fact whether the person to whom the prostration was made was an old man or a young one, whether he was a Śūdra or a Brahman, whether he was a *guru* or a disciple, male or female, or whether it was in the presence of a deity or a *guru*. But the Vaḍagalais protested that *namaskārams* could be made only by the young to the old, by the Śūdra to the Brahman, by a disciple to his *guru*, only to deserving women like the wife of a *guru*, or a mother, and held that they must not be made in the presence of a deity.[28]

Vēdānta Dēśika who flourished in the Tamil country in the fourteenth century, wanted to restore the doctrines of Rāmānuja and stood as an apostle of conservative orthodoxy. He commanded a following who were willing to accept the doctrines of Rāmānuja and came to be known as the members of the Vaḍagalai sect or of the northern school. The other party which fought against conservative orthodoxy was headed by one Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni, a native of Āḻvār Tirunagiri and a disciple of Śrīśaila. He is believed to have flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century, and he was in a large measure responsible for the foundation of the sect of the Teṅgalais, the followers of the southern school, as a separate sect. The leader of the Vaḍagalais was one Nainār Ācāryār also known as Varadācārya, the son and successor of Vēdānta Dēśika. Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni was followed in his arduous work of

28. See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV. pp. 126-136; *Mysore Census Report*, 1891; Monier Williams, *Hinduism*, pp. 125-55; *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 1103*ff*, and 1912 pp. 714 *ff.*; Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 227; *Ind. Ant.*, III, p. 175; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 500*ff*; He says: "The monkey Ramaites are a sect of the north (*vaḍa*) and hence are called Vadagalais. The Cat or Calcinistic Ramaites of the south (*ten*) are called Teṅgalais." This appears to be a curious classification. Dr. Grierson also has misunderstood the true significance of the term. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 566. S. M. Natesa Sastri thinks that the practices of the Teṅgalai Vaiṣṇavas are to a large extent influenced by Śūdra practices. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 252*ff*.

social reform by his successors in the eight *maṭhas* which he himself established for that purpose. This popular movement rapidly spread among the people; for its catholicity was responsible for admitting in its fold members of all castes, high and low; and in the course of a century the new faith was able to command an equal number of adherents with the Vaḍagalais.[29]

The Vallabha Sect:

The *bhakti* movement among the Vaiṣṇavas led to the foundation of a sect known as the *Vallabhācārya* sect, so named after its founder. It was believed that the founder was an embodiment of a portion of Kṛṣṇa's essence. According to the religion he propagated, Viṣṇu was the highest God, and he was to be worshipped in the form of young Kṛṣṇa associated with Rādhā. Vallabhācārya held that God Kṛṣṇa must not be worshipped with fasting and self-mortification, but worshippers must do so without putting any restrictions upon themselves, for according to him every individual soul being a portion of the Supreme Soul, there must not be placed any restriction on man. The devotee should eat and drink, should satisfy his hunger and other wants, worshipping Kṛṣṇa in perfect satisfaction.

There is a tradition that Vallabhācārya was invited to the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya of Vijayanagar where a disputation was held, in which, it is believed, he succeeded even against the celebrated Vyāsarāya Tīrtha, the Madhva teacher, and that he was elected the chief *Ācārya* among the Vaiṣṇavas. Later he travelled through different parts of India for over nine years and finally settled at Benares, where, it is said, he composed seventeen important works on his philosophy and religion. The followers of his religion are largely found in the merchant communities of Bombay and Gujarat, as also of a few portions of the Madras Presidency. Their priests known as the *Mahārājas* are married men, and are recruited from the Telugu Brahmans who are related to its distinguished founder.

The followers of this new religion grossly exaggerated the highly philosophical teachings of the founder especially in regard to his non-ascetical view of religion, and interpreted it in a gross and material sense. "Hence their devotion to Kṛṣṇa degenerated into the most corrupt practices, and their whole system was rotten to the core."[30]

29. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

30. See Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 136 and *Rep. on a search for Sans. and Tamil Mss.*, by M. Seshagiri Śāstri, Vol. I, p. 16; see

3. *Madhvaism* :

Originally founded in the thirteenth century by Madhva to propagate his theory of Duality, this religious school gained a large number of adherents in the Vijayanagar period. Among the great Madhva teachers, mention may be made of a few. One of them was Padmanābha Tīrtha, the immediate successor of Madhvācārya. He was the head of the Pādarāyamaṭha ; one of the distinguished heads of the *maṭha* was Śrīpāda Rāya, a contemporary of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. Madhva Tīrtha was a great scholar who presided over the Uttarādi maṭha established by Madhvācārya. He was succeeded by one Akṣōbhya Tīrtha who was a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya. The controversy between these two famous teachers has been noticed earlier. Akṣōbhya had two disciples, Jaya Tīrtha and Rājēndra Tīrtha, both of them able logicians. But the most eminent of the Madhva teachers was one Vyāsarāya, a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. Eight *maṭhas* were established to spread the teachings of the founder, and they carried on faithfully his work. Vyāsarāya was the disciple of Brahmaṇya Tīrtha. He was a logician and Vedāntin of rare ability, and he was the author of several works on certain important aspects of the *Dvaita* philosophical system among which mention may be made of *Tātparyacandrikā*, *Tarkatāṇḍava* and *Nyāyāmṛta*. He was also the commentator of " all the Śāstras" and was called the *Vaiṣṇava Siddhānta pratiṣṭhāpanācāryaḥ*.[31] He appears to have been a great favourite of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. It is even said that the emperor abdicated his throne for a short time in favour of Vyāsarāya to avert a serious calamity that was predicted for the empire, should the king occupy the throne at a particular hour.[32] A large number of villages was granted to him by the emperor.[33] He lived at Tirupati for many years.[34] According to the *Sampradāyakuladīpikā*, a work of the sixteenth century, Vyāsarāya Tīrtha presided over a meeting held at the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in which Vallabhācārya defeated

also Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, pp. 127-28 and *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, pp. 580-83.

31. *M.E.R.*, 1905, para 33.

32. This statement rests only on the orthodox Madhva tradition. No corroborative evidence is available from other sources.

33. 370 of 1919 ; *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 153 ; *E.C.*, VII, 85; *Intro.*, pp. 41 *ff*. See also *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 43 *ff*. and *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, para 107 ; 1919 para 30, etc.

34. 74 of 1899.

his opponents in a dispute.[35] Prof. Aufrecht says that he founded the Vyāsarāya maṭha.[36] He seems to have died at Hampi. " Even today the pious pilgrim who goes to the Pampākṣetra (Hampi) is shown the tomb of this great religious teacher and scholar on an island called Navabṛndāvana in the Tuṅgabhadrā river about half a mile to the east of Anegondi."[37]

Another great Madhva teacher was one Vijayīndra Tīrtha and was a contemporary of the great Appayya Dīkṣita. He is said to have been master of the sixty-four *kalas* or branches of learning. He spent the evening of his life at Kumbakōṇam and had a philosophical dispute with the Vīra Śaiva guru of the place ; it lasted for eleven days, at the end of which he came out successful. He was the author of several works.

Vādi Rāja Tīrtha, the successor of Vāgiśa Tīrtha, in the Soude maṭha was also a great scholar and a reputed controversialist. He also wrote several works. Rāghavēndra Tīrtha, the disciple of Sudhīndra Tīrtha, was likewise a great scholar who lived in the seventeenth century. He was a powerful writer and a noted controversialist.[38]

SECTION III

Jainism

Jainism received great patronage in the Vijayanagar days. The Jains were an influential religious sect with their sphere of influence spreading in the northern and western portions of the empire. The Vijayanagar sovereigns found religious toleration not only a sound policy, but also a political necessity ; and in the case of the Jains also they were tolerant. For instance, when in A.D. 1368 there arose quarrels between the Jains and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, Bukka I settled their disputes and brought about reconciliation between the two rival sects. This Jain-Vaiṣṇava compact marks an important epoch in the religious history of South India. The way in which such a reconciliation was brought about is interesting. Bukka I summoned the leaders of the two sects and declared that as there

35. M. Seshagiri Śāstri, *Rep. on the Search for Sans. and Tam. Mss.*, Vol. I, p. 16.
36. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 619.
37. *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 84.
38. See *E. I.*, XII, pp. 344 *ff*.

was no essential difference between the two sects they should remain friends. It is said that he took the hands of the Jains and placing them in the hands of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas of the eighteen *nāḍus* including the *ācāryas* of Śrīraṅgam, Tirupati, Kāñcī and Melkōṭe and other Vaiṣṇava sects among whom special mention is made of the Tirukulas and Jāmbavakulas, *i.e.*, Holeyas and Maḍigas,[39] decreed as follows: "The Jaina creed is, as before, entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalaśa* or vase. If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina creed through the Vaiṣṇavas, the latter will kindly deem it as loss or advancement caused to their own creed. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas will to this effect kindly set up a *śāsana* or inscription in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and the moon endure, the Vaiṣṇava creed will continue to protect the Jaina creed. Vaiṣṇavas and Jainas are one body; they must not be viewed as different. Tāttayya of Tirupati will, out of the money levied from every Jaina house throughout the kingdom, appoint twenty servants as a body guard for the God at Belgola and repair ruined Jaina temples. He who transgresses this decree shall be a traitor to the king, a traitor to the *saṅgha* and the *samudāya*".[40] One fact deserves to be noted with regard to this compact. The opening verse of these inscriptions is in praise of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānuja; and this is the last one of the five verses known as *Dhātu pañcaka* in adoration of Rāmānuja.[41]

Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, the minister of Harihara II, was a Jain. He was a disciple of Puṣpasēna[42] and built the Kuntha Jīnālaya at Vijayanagar, the present Ganigiṭṭi temple at Hampi[43], and a *basti* for Pārśva Jīnanātha at Gooty.[44] His inscriptions are also found at Tirupparuttakuṉṟu, a small Jain colony near Conjeevaram where he appears to have constructed a *maṇṭapa* before the Jaina temple.[45] Dēva Rāya II built a stone temple for Arhat Pārśvanātha in a street of the Pansupari bazaar at Vijayanagar.[46]

39. They are said to have helped Rāmānuja in recovering the image of Śelva Pillai from the Muhammadans at Delhi.

40. *E.C.*, II, (New Edn.), Sb. 344; (Old Edn.), Sb. 136; *E.C.*, IX, Mg. 181.

41. *E.C.*, II, *Intro.*, p. 633.

42. *E.I.*, VII, p. 115.

43. *S. I. I.*, I, p. 156.

44. 326 of 1920.

45. 42 of 1890; *E.I.*, VII, pp. 115-16.

46. *S. I. I.*, I, 82. From these grants and constructions by the members of the first Vijayanagar dynasty M. S. Ramaswamy Ayyangar concludes that

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his successors also patronised Jainism;[47] and it was in a flourishing condition in the northern and western portions of the Vijayanagar empire.[48]

Section IV

Christianity

Christianity appears to have come to South India even at a very early date. According to a few records, a Christian was the Dewan of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1445 under Dēva Rāya II.[49] But it was only with the coming of the Portuguese to India that Christianity began to spread in South India. The Jesuits who came to India had conversion as their main object, and their attempts met with partial success. About 1533 the Paravas of the fishery coast in the south were the first to be baptised. Unable to bear the oppression of the Muhammadans who claimed monopoly over the pearl fisheries, the Paravas sought the help of the Portuguese missionary Dr. Pero Vaz de Amaral, who was then at Cochin and in return for it promised to embrace Christianity. Later, regular conversion was undertaken by the Jesuits who

they were Jains. He says: "These incidents are sufficient evidence to prove that the ruling families of Vijayanagar not only patronised but some of them professed the Jain faith." (*Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 118). But his conclusions are not supported by facts. The Vijayanagar kings were never Jains though they largely patronised Jainism. Their liberal grants to Jain temples and institutions cannot prove the assertions of the author.

47. 528 of 1928-29.

48. About the existence and spread of Buddhism however we have only very little evidence. But it appears that vestiges of the religion lingered on in some parts of the empire. There are two inscriptions which speak of Buddhism. One is in the Belur taluk but the evidence afforded by it is only indirect. It states that God Kēśava of the place was worshipped by the Śaivas as Śiva, the Vedāntins as Brahmā, the Bauddhas as Buddha.... (*E.C.*, V, Bl. 3). Another inscription at Kumbakōṇam mentions a temple of Buddha at Tiruviḷanduṛai from which land was acquired for a channel by the residents of the village of Tirumalairājapuram, in return for which lands were given in compensation (292 of 1929). Thus Buddhism appears to have lingered on in South India in the Vijayanagar days.

49. See *Du Brahmanisme et de ses rapports, avec le Judaisme et le Christianisme* by Mgr. Laoaenan, Pondicherry, I p.t., II, 402-03 referred to in *Mys. Gaz.*, New Edn., Vol. I, p. 341.

settled at Madura. About 20,000 of the Paravas were converted to Christianity.[50]

In the Nāyak court of Madura a Jesuit missionary, Robert de Nobili by name, began a regular campaign of conversion of the Hindus, for he was of opinion that they had no true knowledge of God. In order to achieve his end he thought that he should sacrifice all his conveniences, don the robes of a Hindu Sanyasin and live like a high class Brahman. He learnt Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu. He wished to win their respect and esteem before he could convert them to his religion. He did not, however, condemn the Hindu religion, but induced the Hindus to accept his religion by setting an example to them. In this respect he was a noble figure, for though the expedients he adopted for converting the people to Christianity are not above criticism, yet his intense devotion for his religion was so much that to him no sacrifice was too great to gain his object. His winning manners, sincerity of purpose and forcefulness of expression could however bring into his fold only a very few people. Nobili failed in his attempt at mass conversion; and that is easily explained. His method was opposed by a brother missionary, Father Fernandez, who said that it cut at the very root of Christianity. This apart, the period in which he came to South India did not afford a good opportunity for his policy of proselytism ; for it was a period when Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism according to which there was no difference between man and man in the eyes of God had spread in South India. To the Hindus the Christian religion did not make any new appeal. Thus Robert de Nobili failed in his attempts to spread Christianity though he tried his best and sacrificed all his comforts.

The Jesuits were also patronised by the Vijayanagar emperor Veṅkaṭa II. He very often summoned them to his presence, honoured them and heard the philosophical disputes that were held in his presence between the Jesuit Fathers and the leaders of rival Hindu faiths. They were allowed to establish their churches at Candragiri and Vellore. Veṅkaṭa also settled upon them an annual income of one thousand gold pieces. With this annual income the Candragiri mission and the college which they had established at St. Thomé were conducted.[51]

50. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, pp. 118-21 and the authorities quoted therein; see also D'Sa, *Hist. of the Catholic Church in India*, II, p. 31.
51. See Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 464-485.

SECTION V

Islam

With the inroad of the Muhammadans into South India at the beginning of the fourteenth century there arose great antipathy between them and the Hindus. The Muhammadans pillaged and plundered Hindu temples, and made forced conversions of the Hindus. But with the establishment and expansion of the Vijayanagar empire, they cooled down in South India, and since then have remained a separate community. The Hindus have also been amicable towards them.

Dēva Rāya II set the example for giving encouragement to the Muhammadans to settle in the empire and this policy appears to have been followed by his successors. Ferishta says that Dēva Rāya effected some reforms in his army organisation, entertained Mussalmans in his service, allotted them *jagirs,* erected a mosque for their use in his capital, and commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion. He also ordered a *Koran* to be placed before his throne on a rich desk so that the Muhammadans might perform the ceremony of obeisance before him " without sinning against their laws."[52] The entertainment of Mussalmans in Hindu service is also indicated by the evidence of inscriptions. An epigraph of A.D. 1430 states that Dēva Rāya II had 10,000 Turuṣka horsemen in his service.[53] Another inscription of A.D. 1440-41 mentions one Ahmad K͟Hān, as a servant of the king Vīrapratāpa Dēva Rāya II, and that he built a well.[54] Paes referring to the Muslims in the service of the Hindu king mentions a Moorish quarter which was at the very end of the city, and says that among them there were many who were natives of the country and who were paid by the king and belonged to his guard.[55] They were so much in the confidence of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, that in his campaigns against Raicūr, he sent the Moors in the royal service to lead the van.[56] The spirit of accommodation of the Hindus is also shown by the fact that in A.D. 1537 a pious Hindu constructed a mosque for the sake of the Mussalmans.[57] The same policy was pursued by

52. Scott, *Ferishta,* I, p. 118.
53. *E.C.*, III, Sr. 15 ; *Intro.*, p. 23.
54. 18 of 1904.
55. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
57. *E.C.*, IV, Kr. 95.

Sadāśiva and Rāma Rāja. The regent, like Dēva Rāya II, caused a *Koran* to be placed before him when the Muhammadans came to pay their respects to him.[58] A large number of Muhammadans were appointed to posts of importance in the Hiṇdu service. Prominent among such officers was one Amūr KHān for whose maintenance Rāmā Rāja granted an estate.[59] Ainana Malukka ('Ain-ul-Mulk Gīlāni) was another important officer at whose request the regent made the grant of the village of Bevanahaḷḷi to the Brahmans.[60] This officer was so much in the confidence of the regent that he was very often called his brother.[61] Another, Dil-uvar KHān, who was an agent of Rāma Rāja, made a grant of a village as *baṭa agrahāra*.[62] The Vijayanagar kings also appear to have encouraged the *Daraga* an "institution in all probability the shrine of the Muhammadan saint Babanatta, to whose astrological forecasts or to those of the priests who presided over that institution, much importance was attached by kings and peasants alike." The Vijayanagar sovereigns seem to have granted many donative villages to that institution meant for the encouragement of the study of *hōrā* (horoscopy). For instance in A.D. 1638-39 Veṅkaṭa II renewed certain grants of villages to the *Daraga* of Babayya at Penugoṇḍa.[63] Similarly Maṅgammāḷ, the Nāyak queen of Madura, made a gift of some villages near Trichinopoly in A.D. 1701-02 to the *Daraga* of Babanatta. The reason for the grant was the forecast "that the state business of Tañjāvūr would result in a success and it proved to be true."[64]

SECTION VI

The Religion of the Kings and the spread of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism

The history of the religion of the Vijayanagar house is an epitome of the history of the religious movements in the empire. The early Vijayanagar kings were Śaivas of an orthodox type, but

58. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 79.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 328.
60. *E.I.*, XIV, p. 210.
61. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 381.
62. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 147.
63. *M. E. R.*, Cp. 17 of 1910-11; *Rep.* 1911, para 59.
64. Cp. 19 of 1910-11; *Rep.*, 1911, para 62; See also Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 203.

the later sovereigns became staunch Vaiṣṇavas with a predilection for God Veṅkaṭēśa of Tirupati in preference to Śrī Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar. This change of faith of the ruling princes had its indirect effects on the faith of the people in the empire, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism spread in South India with amazing rapidity.

The members of the early Saṅgama dynasty, as said earlier, were Śaivas, following the Kāṣmīr school of Śaivism and were known by the name of the *Pāśupatas*. Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita was their *guru*, and Śrī Virūpākṣa of Hampi was their tutelary deity, while *Śrī Virūpākṣa* was their sign manual.[65] The rulers maintained very cordial relations with the Śṛṅgēri maṭha; and Vidyātīrtha and Vidyāraṇya, who were its heads, and contributed much for the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire, were held in great veneration and high esteem by the early rulers of the line. In A.D. 1346 the five Saṅgama brothers jointly made a grant to the *maṭha*.[66] In A.D. 1380 Cennappa Uḍaiyār, a nephew of Harihara II, made the grant of an *agrahāra* to one Vidyābhūṣaṇa Dīkṣita, a sound scholar and a disciple of Vidyāraṇya, and re-named the village after Vidyāraṇya himself.[67] In the course of the fifteenth century a gradual change came over the faith of the Vijayanagar house and the rulers came to have a partiality for Vaiṣṇavism.[68] The

65. *E.C.*, V, Cp. 256.
66. *E.C.*, VI, Sr. 1.
67. *E.C.*, IX, Kn. 43 ; see also *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 64 ; *E.I.*, III, p. 118 and *M.A.R.*, 1907, para 54 for a mention of the cordial relationship between the Vijayanagar kings and the Śṛṅgēri maṭha.
68. According to the *Prapannāmṛtam*, a celebrated Śrī-Vaiṣṇava work, during the time of Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar, "who secured the throne by the valour of his own sword", a change came over the faith of the Vijayanagar sovereigns. It is said that the relations whom Virūpākṣa had killed to gain the throne were born as ghosts, and haunted the palace in which Virūpākṣa lived, and hence he left it and lived in another palace. Two Vaiṣṇava Brahmans came to the old palace, saw the ghosts holding court and mistaking them to be living persons, read the *Rāmāyaṇa* to them to which they listened with great interest. After the course had been finished, they told the Brahmans that they were the ghosts of the relatives of Virūpākṣa who had been killed by him, and that by hearing the *Rāmāyana* they had been rid of their *piśāca* life, and after presenting them with a large number of gold coins, they went to Heaven. Virūpākṣa who came to know of the whole story, began to entertain great reverence for the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He was also admitted to the Vaiṣṇava faith. And out of gratitude for relieving him from the trouble of the ghosts he changed the sign manual of *Śrī Virūpākṣa* for that of *Śrī Rāma*. (S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 6 and 71-73 ; also, Text I. 90).

Sāḷuvas were Vaiṣṇavas equally devoted to Nṛsiṁha of Ahōbalam and Veṅkaṭēśa of Tirupati. But their patronage was given to Śaivism also. They made their *mahādānas* both to the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. But the Vaiṣṇava temples received more attention; grants and gifts to them were made on a larger scale. However Śrī Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar continued to be the tutelary deity of the Sāḷuvas.

Under the Tuḷuva rulers, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Acyuta Rāya and Sadāśiva Rāya, Vaiṣṇavism gained a larger number of adherents. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, though a staunch Vaiṣṇava, showed equal patronage to the Śaivas and made grants to the Śiva temples. In 1517-18 he made a substantial remission of certain items of revenue amounting to 10,000 *poṉ* in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam. In 1517 he built the northern *gōpura* in the temple of the God Poṉṉambalanātha whom he worshipped at Cidambaram[68a] on his southern tour after his successful campaigns

The evidence of this Śrī Vaiṣṇava work indicates that the faith of the king Virūpākṣa had begun to change. S. K. Aiyangar thinks that the Virūpākṣa referred to in the work is the successor of Mallikārjuna, who according to the Śrīśailam plates won the throne 'by the valour of his own sword.' But T. A. Gopinatha Rao is inclined to think that the Virūpākṣa referred to in that work was Virūpākṣa II who won in the triangular fight for the throne on the death of Harihara II in A.D. 1404, and ruled for a short time. He bases his conclusion on the evidence of the sign manual *Śrī Virūpākṣa* used in the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣa, and argues that the statement of the *Prapannāmṛtam* is contradicted by the sign manual used in the later inscriptions of the king. (*E. I.*, XV, p. 25). But there is no other evidence to show that Virūpākṣa II changed his sign manual for *Śrī Rāma*. Hence the argument of Gopinatha Rao appears to lack support. But since the successors of Virūpākṣa II were staunch Śaivas, though tolerant towards the Vaiṣṇavas, and the successors of Virūpākṣa III came to have greater predilection for Vaiṣṇavism, it is reasonable to take the view that the Virūpāksa referred to in the *Prapannāmṛtam* was the successor of Mallikārjuna, though there is no inscriptional evidence to show that he changed the sign manual; nor did the Sāḷuvas, the Tuḷuvas and the early rulers of the Aravīḍu line change the sign manual.

68a. Though Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya takes credit for having built the northern *gōpuram* at Cidambaram it appears that he built only its superstructure for the basement of the tower up to the first of the seven tiers has all the features of a Cōḷa structure like the eastern and western *gōpurams* of the temple. The construction of the superstructure of the *gōpura* begun by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was completed by Acyutadēva Raya. (See *J.O.R.*, Vol. XII, p. 172 where a Cidambaram inscription of Acyutadēva Rāya is edited by S. R. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar.)

in the north. He made substantial additions to the main buildings in the Śiva temples at Kāḷahasti and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. He also made substantial grants to the Gaṇapati temple at the capital itself.[69] He built a *raṅga maṇṭapa* (assembly hall) in front of the inner shrine of the Virūpākṣa temple at the capital and a *gōpura* before it. He also repaired a great *gōpura* in front of it. He made a gift to God Virūpākṣa of a golden lotus set with the nine kinds of gems and a snake ornament.[70]

But Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's grants to the Vaiṣṇava shrines were more numerous and richer. When he recovered the fort of Udayagiri, he found in it an image of God Kṛṣṇa which he carried to his capital with great veneration, and had enshrined in a temple specially erected for the purpose.[71] He also built portions of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple at the capital.[72] When he went to Tirupati in A.D. 1514 to pay his respects to God Veṅkaṭēśa, he bathed the God there in gold with 30,000 gold pieces, and presented a three-stringed necklace and a pair of gold bangles of very high value set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz.[73] Allasāni Peddana in the prologue to his *Manucaritamu* says that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, his patron, was a great devotee of Veṅkaṭēśa.[74] This is also shown by the copper images of this king and his wives which are still found in the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśa at Tirumalai.[75] In the next year he presented to God Ahōbala Narasiṁha at Ahōbalam a necklace, a pendant set with diamonds and an emerald, wristlets set with diamonds, a golden plate and 1,000 *varāhas*.[76] He also made substantial improvements to the Varadarājasvāmi temple at Conjeevaram.[77]

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was an ardent worshipper of Viṭhōba. The Viṭhōba cult was a phase of Vaiṣṇavism that prevailed in the Maharāṣtra country. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya consecrated a temple at his capital for this God of his heart. " If the scale and highly artistic nature of a shrine could alone determine the strength of the devo-

69. 398 of 1896.
70. *E.I.*, I, pp. 366 and 370 ; *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 175.
71. 25 and 26 of 1889; 498 of 1907.
72. 711, 712 and 713 of 1922.
73. 53, 54 and 55 of 1889.
74. Canto I, v. 47.
75. See *M.E.R.*, 1904, para 9; *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 87.
76. 64 of 1915.
77. 478, 513, 569 and 664 of 1919.

tion of the builder to the enshrined, we might say that Viṭhōba had the highest place in Kṛṣṇadēva's heart."[78]

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism are also seen in the encouragement he gave to Vaiṣṇava literary celebrities. Veṅkaṭa Tātārya, an eminent Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher, was greatly honoured by the king, and he was also made the head of all the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the empire. In 1523 A.D. the king ordered that he was to be shown the first honours in every public assembly, and gave him a charter to that effect. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher was also given the power to punish delinquents in regard to religious and social matters.[79] Another teacher of eminence who received great patronage at the royal court of Vijayanagar was Vyāsa Tīrtha Yatīndra, a great scholar and an ardent exponent of the *Dvaita* philosophy. He was the recipient of many grants of villages.[80]

Acyuta Rāya was an ardent Śrī-Vaiṣṇava. But he was tolerant towards all other religions and sects. We see from his numerous munificent gifts to temples and institutions that while in the first half of his reign he showed equal patronage to both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, in the second half, his leanings were more towards Vaiṣṇavism. Thus in A.D. 1534 he made a grant of a few villages to be distributed in equal proportion between the temples of God Varadarāja and Ēkāmbaranātha at Conjeevaram and communicated the order to his subordinate officer in that locality, who, however, being a staunch Vaiṣṇava, failed to do as he was instructed by the king, and granted a larger portion to the Varadarāja temple and a smaller share to the Ēkāmbaranātha shrine. Acyuta Rāya who came to know of this unequal distribution redistributed the lands in equal proportions between the two temples by lots.[81] But his large grants to the Varadarājasvāmi temple show that he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. He performed the *tulābhāra* of pearls at Kāñcī and made substantial grants to the temple of Varadarājasvāmi.[82] He gave many gifts to the Viṭṭhala temple at Vijayanagar among which the *Svarṇakṣmā* or earth of gold was one.[83] In 1534 he made a gift of land with a house in the presence of Viṭṭha-

78. *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 222.
79. *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 110.
80. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 85; 13 of 1905; *Caṭupadyamanimañjari*, pp. 161-2.
81. 544, 547 and 584 of 1919.
82. 511, 543 and 546 of 1919; *Rep.*, 1920, para 47.
83. *E.I.*, I, p. 364; *E.I.*, XVII, p. 171; *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 1; *E.C.*, X Hn. 13.

lēśvara to each of the two Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brahmans who recited a *purāṇam* in the temple.[84] He made a grant in A.D. 1539 of what was called the " Ānanda Nidhi " by which he claims to have delighted Viṣṇu and to have made Kubēras of Brahmans.[85] He set up the image of the God Tillai Gōvindarāja at Cidambaram in May 1539 according to the ritual of *Vaikhānasa Sūtra* and granted 500 *poṉ* for the daily worship in the temple.[86] Finally, that Acyuta was an

84. 240 of 1910.

85. *M. E. R.*, 1904 para 24; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 119; *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 89; *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 119 *fn.* 1; *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 81. The exact significance of this grant is not known. The record registering this grant speaks of it as "a very new thing" and as being greater than the "nine treasures of Kubēra." R. Narasimhachar thinks that the gift consisted of a "potful of money as explained by Hemādri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa*" (*M.A.R.*, 1920, para 89).

86. 272 of 1913. The Tillai Gōvindarājasvāmi temple at Cidambaram has a chequered history. The Gōvindarāja idol which is housed in the temple of Naṭarāja was, according to the *Prapannāmṛtam*, removed from the temple, by the Cōḷa king Krimikantha. (S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 202-3). According to the *Kulōttuṅga Cōḻaṉ Ulā* and *Rājarājaṉ Ulā*, king Kulōttuṅga II caused the Gōvindarāja idol to be thrown into the sea (his original abode). (See *Journal of the Bombay Hist. Soc.*, IV, p. 40). It appears that Rāmānuja who lived then brought back the discarded idol or made a new one with the help of his disciples and consecrated it in a temple he constructed at Tirupati. (See R. Raghava Aiyangar, *Ceṉṉi Kulōttuṅgaṉ Anapāyaṉ*, *Śen Tamil*, VIII, pp. 301-02; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 299; see also S. K. Aiyangar, *Anc. India*, p. 320). According to the *Guruparamparā*, Vēdāntācārya repaired and consecrated the Gōvindarāja shrine at Cidambaram with the help of Gōpanna, though there was great opposition from the Śaivas (see *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV, p. 309). But the idol appears to have been again removed by the Śaivas. Since then till its reconsecration by emperor Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1539, there appears to have been no Gōvindarāja shrine at Cidambaram. In A.D. 1510 Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya made a gift of three villages with an income of 1,400 *rēkai* (*gadyāna*) for the *mahāpūja* of Aḻagiya Tiruccirrambalam Uḍaiya Tambirāṉār (323 of 1913). When he visited the place in 1517-18, he is said to have worshipped the Lord Poṉṉambala (Naṭarāja) and constructed the northern *gōpuram* (174 of 1892, 371 and 374 of 1913). If there had been the Gōvindarāja shrine at Cidambaram at the time of his visit, he could not have failed to worship him as a staunch Vaiṣṇava and make grants or improvements to the temple. If it had existed he would have included it in the list of temples that were benefited by his remission of 10,000 *varahas* made in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḻamaṇḍalam. In March 1530 Acyuta Rāya made a grant of eighty-two villages for the celebration of the annual car festival of Naṭarāja and the construction of the northern *gōpuram* of the temple (*J.O.R.*, 1938, pp. 169-178). From this it is evident that there was no Gōvindarāja shrine in the temple

ardent Vaiṣṇava is shown by such phrases as "joined the feet of Viṣṇu" used to mention his death.[87]

Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism gained a stronger hold in the empire during the time of Sadāśiva. It was a happy combination then that both the *de jure* sovereign Sadāśiva and the *de facto* ruler, Rāma Rāja, were ardent followers of Vaiṣṇavism in the empire. During this period grants to Vaiṣṇava temples are more frequent and costly, and Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teachers are shown greater favour. The Viṣṇu temples of Śrīperumbudūr (Chingleput district) and Śrī muṣṇam (South Arcot district) not to speak of Tirupati and Tirumalai (Chittore), are the objects of special grants. The Tāḷḷapākkam family of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teachers were greatly honoured by Rāma Rāja. A few among them were Annamācārya, Tirumalācārya[88] and Tāḷḷapākam Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, the author of the work called *Paramayogivilāsamu* and the establisher of two schools of Vedānta.[89] Gōvinda Dēśika, the royal preceptor of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, was displaced by Tātācārya, a famous Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher.[90] According to the *Prapannāmṛtam* it was during this period that Doḍḍayācārya defeated all the Śaiva scholars of Citrakūṭa (Cidambaram) including Appayya Dīkṣita in a religious controversy, and succeeded in establishing the worship of Gōvindarāja at the place with the help of Tātācārya and Rāma Rāja.[91] Tātācārya

on that date. It was reconsecrated only in A.D. 1539. An inscription of that year definitely states that Acyuta Rāya ordered that the image of Tillai Gōvindarāja Perumāḷ might be set up at Cidambaram according to the ritual of *Vaikhānasa Sūtra*, and made a grant of 500 *poṇ* towards the daily worship (272 of 1913 and 1 of 1915). The shrine was set up in the terraced *mantapa* around the first *prākāra* of the Naṭarāja temple. No foundation of a permanent character seems to have been laid for the new shrine for the steps, floral designs and friezes even now seen all round the *prākāra* walls and *maṇṭapas* were also to be seen when the shrine of Gōvindarāja was demolished recently for carrying out certain repairs and improvements in the Vaisnava shrine. The inscription of Acyuta Rāya falsifies the statement in the *Prapannāmṛtam* that Rāma Rāja restored the Vaisṇava shrine at Cidambaram after the defeat of the Śaiva scholars of Citrakūta (Cidambaram) by one Mahācārya, a Vaiṣṇava scholar who lived at Ghaṭikācala(Sholingar). (S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 202; *Ancient India*, p. 320).

87. *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 186; *E.C.* V, Hn. 7.

88. *M.E.R.*, 1916, para 72.

89. *Ibid.*

90. *M.A.R.*, 1906-07, para 53.

91. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 202-203; though it is true that Appayya Dīkṣita spent his last years at Cidambaram, yet his defeat at the hands of Doḍḍayācārya is mentioned only in this Śri-Vaiṣṇava work, which, as a

wrote his well-known work *Pañcamatabhañjanam*. Doḍḍayācārya also wrote his *Caṇḍamārutam* in refutation of the Dīkṣita's work *Advaita Dīpika*.[92] At the instance of Kandāḷa Śrīraṅgācārya, another Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher of the time, a grant of thirty-one villages was made to the Rāmānujakūṭam at Śrīperumbudūr (Chingleput district).[93]

With the coming to power of the Aravīḍu kings, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism received still greater support from the rulers. Tirumala I himself was a " repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Viṣṇu)."[94] He made the *tulāpuruṣa* and other gifts, at Kāñcī, Śrīraṅga, Śeṣācala (Tirupati), Kanakasabhā (Cidambaram) and Ahōbalādri.[95] Though he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava, the old formula was followed in the matter of invocatory verses and colophons of the grants. Gaṇādhipati was saluted first, the invocatory verses were addressed to Śiva and Līlāvarāha (Viṣṇu) and the colophon *Śrī Virūpākṣa* written in Kanarese was retained.

Śrī Raṅga also was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. In the Ariviḷimaṅgalam plates he is called " the worshipper of Viṣṇu."[96] One of the important services rendered by Śrī Raṅga for the cause of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism was the restoration of worship in the Ahōbalam temple. The place had been occupied by Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh and Malakappa, the chief of Haṇḍe Anantāpuram. Śrī Raṅga defeated them and restored the temple to the Jiyyaṅgāru who was in charge of it.[97] The Vaiṣṇava shrines at Melkōṭe, Śrīperumbudūr, Śrīmuṣṇam and Triplicane were the objects of numerous grants during this time. Śrī-Vaiṣṇava scholars like Ēṭṭūr Kumāra Tirumala Tātācārya received great patronage at the royal court. Śrī Raṅga carried out additions and improvements to the Viṣṇu temple at Kāñcī for which he had as his agent one Tiruppaṇi Śiṅgāraieṅgār.[98] Śrī

partisan work, naturally made prominent mention of the great *Advaita* teacher's defeat. But one thing is clear from the work; the Gōvindarāja shrine at Cidambaram received special royal support without which it is doubtful if the idol could have been restored within the precincts of the Naṭarāja temple.

92. *E. I.*, XII, pp. 346-47.
93. *E.I.*, IV, pp. 1-22, British Museum Plates of Sadāśiva.
94. *E.I.*, XVI, p. 245.
95. *E.C.*, XII, Tm. 1 ; Ck. 39.
96. *E.I.*, XII, p. 357, v. 20.
97. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 233-34 ; *M.E.R.*, 1915, paras 17 and 53.
98. 10 of 1921 ; for the influence of Tātācārya during this period see *M.E.R.*, 1921, para 53.

Rāmānuja appears to have been deified and worshipped during this period. According to a record of 1575 Śrī Raṅga, Tātācārya, his *guru,* and a few others provided for the recitation of the *Yatirāja Saptati,* a poem by Vēdānta Dēśika in praise of Śrī Rāmanuja in the temple of Melkōṭe.[99] But he like his predecessors had no antipathy to Śiva. He continued the formula of making obeisance to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his grants.[100]

Until the days of Tirumala and Śrī Raṅga " the Vijayanagara throne was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virūpākṣa."[101] With the accession of Veṅkaṭa II there appears a change in the imperial policy. Under him, Śrī Veṅkaṭēśa of Tirupati takes the place of Śrī Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar. His grants bear the signature of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśa. The initial invocation is also addressed to him, or to Rāma, or Viṣvaksena or Viṣṇu.[102] The moon comes to be called the brother of Lakṣmī in preference to the earlier practice of being called " the great darkness dispelling light."[103] Further, the grants of Veṅkaṭa are generally made in the presence of God Veṅkaṭēśa of Tirupati. Thus "the Vijayanagariyas drifted southwards from Vidyānagara to Penugoṇḍa first and thence later to Candragiri—from the feet of Virūpākṣa to the feet of Veṅkaṭēśa, and from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism."[104] Tātācārya, the *guru* of Veṅkaṭa and a great Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher, commanded great influence at his court. Tirumala Śrīnivāsācārya, Kandāḷa Appaḷācārya and Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalācārya were a few other Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teachers that flourished during the time of Veṅkaṭa. Places like Tirupati and Ahōbalam were the more important Vaiṣṇava centres. The coins of Veṅkaṭa also show that he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. His gold coin known as *Veṅkaṭa pagoda* has on the obverse Viṣṇu standing on an arch, while the

99. *M.A.R.*, 1906-07, para 50.
100. *E.I.*, IX, p. 327 ; *E.I.*, XII, p. 356.
101. *I.A.*, XLIV, p. 221.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
104. *Ibid.* The change of faith of the Vijayanagar house has been supposed to have caused the anger of Virūpākṣa who punished the kings with their defeat at Rakṣas Taṅgḍī. In fact a work called *Jaṅgama Kalaijñāṇa* gives an account of the defeat and death of Rāma Rāja in a prophetic strain by one Sarvajña, a Jaṅgama priest, and his son Virūpaṇṇa, both staunch devotees of Śiva (Wilson, *The Mack. Coll.*, p. 272).

reverse bears the nāgari legend, *Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvarāya namaḥ* (adoration to blessed Veṅkaṭēśa).[105]

The later rulers of the Aravīḍu line like Rāmadēva II, Veṅkaṭa III and Śrī Raṅga III were also staunch Vaiṣṇavas. But as in the earlier days toleration was shown to all religious sects. Rāma II himself though an ardent Vaiṣṇava made grants to Śiva temples. Thus in A.D. 1615 he repaired the Virūpākṣa temple at Mupinapura and granted eleven villages to the temple for the offerings, perpetual lamp, dancing girls, decorations and musicians of the God. But the temple once again fell under repair, and worship ceased. Therefore Rāmadēva repaired it and set up the God again in it.[106]

Śrī Raṅga encouraged the spread of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism with the help of the *Samayācāryas*. He made a grant in 1641 in favour of one Nallāṉ Cakravarti Veṅkaṭācārya one of the *Svayamācārya puruṣas*.[107] He made certain improvements to the Gōvindarāja shrine at Cidambaram and made a grant of five villages rent-free to the temple. He is also said to have fixed the routes which the processions were to take at the place and thus he appears to have ended the disputes between the authorities of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples at Cidambaram though only temporarily.[108] A record of 1644 states how one Pemmasāni Timmaya Nāyuḍu appointed one Bukkapaṭṇam Tātācārya as the *Samayācāram* of Ghaṇḍikōṭaśīma; and it was also provided that he was to receive *Guruseva*, to be present at *Hariseva* and to punish people who swerved from the right path.[109]

Thus the spread of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the empire was in no small measure due to the encouragement which the state gave it, the kings adopting it as their faith. But this rapid spread of the faith, and the construction of new Vaiṣṇava temples or the restoration or reconsecration of old ones, were not accomplished without opposition. At every stage the Śaivas opposed the spread of Vaiṣṇavism. This at times took such a serious turn that loss of life

105. Hultzsch, *The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 308.
106. *E.C.*, VI, An. 103.
107. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 86.
108. 271 of 1913.
109. V. R., *I.M.P.*, II, p. 607, No. 394.

was sustained by the parties Fr. N. Pimenta who passed through Cidambaram in 1597 was an eye-witness to certain incidents that took place there when Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Jiñji made certain improvements to the Gōvindarāja shrine there. He says that a great controversy arose as to " whether it was lawful to place the Signe of Perimal (which is nothing but a Mast or Pole gilded, with an Ape at the foot) in the temple at Chidambaram. Some refused, others by their Legats importunately urged, and the Naichus of Gingi Decreed to erect it in the temple." But when Kṛṣṇappa carried out the reconstruction and repair of the temple in spite of the opposition, the priests of the Śiva temple climbed the towers " and cast themselves down " while he was in the temple and thus twenty of them died. Kṛṣṇappa got angry and ordered the rest to be shot which order was obeyed and two were so done away with. " A woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrel that she cut her own throat." But finally Kṛṣṇappa was able to accomplish his purpose.[110]

Another feature of the religious movements of the period was the holding of controversies between eminent religious teachers. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there were two such notable scholars belonging to rival faiths. Appayya Dīkṣita was a staunch Advaitin with a partiality for Śiva while Tātācārya was a devout Vaiṣṇava. In one of such religious controversies, it is said, Appayya Dīkṣita defeated his opponent for which the royal *guru* cultivated a deep hatred for the Dīkṣita, and according to tradition, even plotted to put an end to his life.[111] A similar controversy was held at Kumbakōṇam between Vijayīndra Tīrtha, a great Madhva celebrity, and the *guru* of the Vīra Śaiva *maṭha* at that place. According to the condition they had entered into before the controversy, Vijayīndra Tīrtha was to join the Śaiva *maṭha* if he was defeated in the controversy, but if he succeeded, the Śaiva *guru* was to make over his *maṭha* and its property to Vijayīndra. At the end of eleven days of controversy, the Vīra Śaiva *guru* admitted his defeat. As a result of this, Vijayīndra Tīrtha took possession of the *maṭha* at Kumbakōṇam.[112] Likewise controversies were held between Vijayīndra Tīrtha and Appayya Dīksīta. Both of them wrote works each condemning the philosophy of the other.[113]

110. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 208-09.
111. *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, p. 326.
112. *E.I.*, XII, p. 346.
113. *Ibid.*

In spite of these bitter controversies and the strong feeling of the members of one faith against those of the other, there was no persecution in the empire. The religious conferences and discussions held were in the nature of the deliberations of a Parliament of Religions. The emperors themselves took lively and intelligent interest in such deliberations. William Forster praises the toleration under the Mughals in the following terms: "There is no trace of intolerance or persecution of any man on account of his religion —a statement which could scarcely be made of any European country at the same period."[114] This unreserved praise of Forster can more properly be applied to the Hindu sovereigns of Vijayanagar. They pursued the policy of universal religious toleration in a period of religious bigotry and fanaticism when the rulers of Europe resorted to organised and systematic persecution, all in the sacred name of religion. The Vijayanagar rulers were far-sighted and imaginative enough to rise above the limits of their age. It must be noted however that though there was the least sign of intolerance or persecution in the empire, the rulers were always in favour of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism and hence its rapid and successful spread in the empire.

SECTION VII

The Temple and the Maṭha

In mediaeval India the temple and the *maṭha* were two important institutions that played a prominent part in the religious life of the people. While the former stood as a symbolic expression of the religious impulse of the people, the latter was an institution that stood for the propagation of certain schools of thought and the imparting of religious education in the particular way which was agreeable to the founder.

The mediaeval temple was, from a religious point of view, a house of God.[115] The management of the temple was in the hands of trustees who had the right to control the appointment and dismissal of the temple servants and administer the temple endowments and property; in short, they controlled the interests of the temple. There were many servants in the temple of whom prominent mention must be made of the general manager of the temple

114. *The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, *Intro.*, p. xliv.
115. For the secular functions of the temple see Chapter on Local Government, sec. on temple.

(*kōyilkēḻvi*) and the temple accountant (*kōyilkaṇakku* or *ōlai eḻttu*);[116] there were also the general watchman (*mey kāval* or *tirumēṉi kāval*),[117] superintendent of the stores (*aṟaikāval*), treasurer (*poṉ baṇḍāram*), servants in charge of lighting (*tiruviḷakkukuḍi*),[118] the temple priest, the piper and the drummer and a host of other servants who had different duties in it. The Gods in the temple were considered to have the tastes of the men who worshipped them, and hence a large number of dancing girls were attached to the temples, and their duty was to dance and sing before the Gods, not only at the time when offerings were made to them but also in the mornings and evenings. The Gods were said to have been very much delighted at their dances and hence dancing girls were called the *dēvaraḍiyār* (servants of God). The servants of the temple were remunerated either by grants of lands on terms of beneficial service to be rendered to the temples, or they were allowed a particular share of the income of the temples. Sometimes private individuals maintained these temple servants by making grants of land for their maintenance or endowing a specified money income.

The temples encouraged education to a large extent, for teachers were employed by them for the recitation of the Vedas, Purāṇas or some sectarian literature in shrines. According to a group of documents at Tirupati provision was made in A.D. 1433 for the chanting of Veda in the temple by twenty-four Brahmans for which a part of the revenue from the village of Śittakkuṭṭai was set apart.[118a] A record of A.D. 1534-35 registers the gift of land and a house to each of the two Vaiṣṇava Brahmans who recited the Purāṇas known as *Bhakti Sañjīvini* in the local temple at Narasiṅgapuram.[119] According to an epigraph of A.D. 1523 Viśvēśvara Śivācārya of the Bikṣāmaṭha at Devikkāpuram, the Kaikkōḷa Mudalis and other trustees of the temple at Devikkāpuram made a gift of land and a house in the *devadāna* village Śōrappūṇḍi to Vaḍamalaiyār, one of the paṇḍits (*vidvān*) of Aṟṟuvanpāḍi.[120] In Ś. 1477 the authorities of the temple at Tiruppuḍamarudūr appointed a certain Rāmanātha as the poet of

116. 415 of 1912; *T.T.D.I.*, II, No. 219.
117. 299 of 1912.
118. 374 of 1912.
118a. *T.T.D.I.*, I, Nos. 199-202.
119. 240 of 1910.
120. 365 of 1912.

the temple conferring on him the title *Marudavanakkavirāyan* and granted him certain lands and a house tax-free. He had evidently to attend on the two days of the (Kē)ṭṭai festival and to compose some poems for the occasion.[121] From the next year he was daily granted food from the temple,[122] and three years later he was granted a *mā* of land.[123]

The temples were the places where grants were made by the kings. Mallikārjuna Mahārāya made his grants while he was at headquarters in the *dānamaṇṭapa* in the Virūpākṣa temple at the capital. The Vijayanagar sovereigns made grants when they visited many of the holy places in the empire. Sometimes they had themselves crowned in the temples. Acyuta Rāya for instance had himself crowned along with his wife Varadāmbā in the temple at Tirupati.[124]

The inscriptions give a list of the centres of pilgrimage in the Vijayanagar days. To mention only a few of them, they were Ahōbalam, Śrīkākuḷam, Kāḷahasti, Tirupati, Kāñcī, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Cidambaram, Kumbakōṇam, Śrīraṅgam, Jambukēśvaram and Anantaśayanam ; and there were many others of lesser importance. Pilgrimages were made by the people generally on foot, though the use of palanquins and hired horses was not uncommon.[125] The roads were provided with shady trees, for the convenience of travellers.

The *maṭhas* of South India, like the monasteries of mediaeval Europe, were very important religious institutions that received the care of the state, and were maintained by the wealth they possessed. They were each presided over by a sanyāsin who was invariably a cultured ecclesiastic whose duty was not only the management and administration of the *maṭha* but also the encouragement of learning. There were generally many disciples in these *maṭhas* who, if they were in Brahmanical institutions, studied the Vedas and the other allied Sanskrit literature, and if they were in non-Brahmanical institutions, studied the vernacular literature. Thus these *maṭhas* were primarily educational institutions.

121. 421 of 1916.
122. 413 of 1916.
123. 412 of 1916.
124. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 158.
125. *Āmukta.*, canto II, v. 95.

We meet with many such *mathas* in the Vijayanagar days. The first among such was the Śṛṅgēri matha in the modern Mysore State. Originally founded by Śrī Śaṅkara, the great *Advaita* teacher and philosopher, it appears to have continued to be presided over by a regular line of pontiffs. From the epigraphs we may say that the following pontiffs lived in the Vijayanagar period:—

Vidyā Tīrtha.
Bhāratī Tīrtha.
Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda
Narasiṁha Bhārati
Rāmacandra Bhārati
Śaṅkara Bhārati
Candraśēkhara Bhārati — These may be different names of the same person.
Puruṣottama Bhārati
Rāmacandra Bhārati
Narasiṁha Bhārati
Immaḍi Narasiṁha Bhārati
Abhinava Narasiṁha Bhārati
Saccidānanda Bhārati

Each of them took the titles *Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācāryavarya* (chief *ācarya* of the paramahaṁsa sanyāsis), *Pada vākya Pramāṇa-pārāvārapārīṇa* (who has seen to the farthest point of grammar, philosophy and logic), devoted to Yama, Niyama, and others, the eight branches of *Yoga*, establisher of the pure *Vaidikādvaita Siddhānta*, etc. They were, as they are even now, taken in palanquins carried crossways blocking the entire road and preventing anything else passing.[126] The Śṛṅgēri matha had very intimate connections with the royal house of Vijayanagar. Its heads Vidyā Tīrtha and Vidyāraṇya played a prominent part in the foundation and expansion of the Vijayanagar empire. The Vijayanagar sovereigns made many pious gifts to the Śṛṅgēri maṭha for its maintenance and support.[127]

Another *maṭha* was originally located at Kāñcī and was known as the Kāmakōṭi pīṭha, in honour of the Goddess at Kāñcī. This also appears to have been ruled by a regular succession of pontifical heads. Inscriptional records show that this *maṭha* was at Kāñcī at least in the thirteenth century, for a record of Vijaya-gaṇḍagōpāla, the Telugu Cōḍa king, registers a grant to the *maṭha* at the place in A.D. 1293.[128] From the very beginning of its

126. See *Mys. Gaz.*, New Edn., Vol. V, pp. 1174-1181.
127. *E.C.*, VI, Sr. 1; Sr. 29, 11, 13, etc.
128. *C. P. Inscriptions belonging to the Śaṅkarācārya Maṭha at Kumbakōṇam*, pp. 7-14.

foundation the *maṭha* appears to have been presided over by a regular succession of pontiffs. Among them mention may be made of Vyāsācala, Candracūḍa, Sadāśivēndra, Paramaśivēndra, the guru of Sadāśiva Brahman of Nerūr, and Ātmabōdhēndra at whose instance Sadāśiva Brahman composed the *Gururatnamālā*, and Nāma Bōdhēndra.[129] According to a list of the *ācāryas* of this *maṭha* published by T. S. Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, the 55th *ācārya* in the apostolic line was one Candracūḍēndra, who presided over it between 1506 and 1512, and the next was one Sadāśivēndra who presided over it between 1512 and 1538. According to two copper plates of 1507 (?) Vīra Narasiṁha made two grants of villages to one Mahādēva Sarasvati, the then presiding pontiff of the Kāñcī Kāmakōṭi pītha.[130] In A.D. 1522 Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya made a grant of two villages to Candracūḍa Sarasvati, the disciple of Mahādēva Sarasvati.[131] He is called *Śivacetas* (having his mind devoted to Śiva), *Yatirāja* (prince among ascetics) and *Dhīmat* (philosopher). He is also said to have been a great expounder of the doctrine of *māyā*. In the light of the date of this inscription and of the two others of Vīra Narasiṁha and the names of the pontiffs, we have to doubt the value of the chronology of Nārāyaṇa Śāstri's list.[132]

Candracūḍa Sarasvati or Candraśēkhara Sarasvati was succeeded in apostolic line by Sadāśiva Sarasvati. He is said to have been the disciple of Candraśēkhara Sarasvati, apparently another name of Candracūḍa, who was a *Paramahaṁsa*

129. *Tan. Dt. Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 231.

130. *C. P. Ins. belonging to the Śaṅkarācārya Maṭha at Kumbakonam*, pp. 15-47.

131. *E.I.*, XIII, pp. 122-132.

132. According to the *Guruparamparāstava*, Pūrnānanda, the guru's guru of Candraśēkhara, went on a pilgrimage to Nepal. Bühler mentions an epigraph which refers to the fact that a svāmi of South India named Sōmaśēkharānanda went to Nepal in A. D. 1503. As inscriptional evidence from Nepal corroborates the tradition contained in the *Guruparamparā* of the Śaṅkarācāryamaṭha, there can be no denying the fact that a svāmi of the *maṭha* went to Nepal. S. V. Venkatesvara observes that "the svāmi referred to must be either the donee of our grant (Chandraśēkhara) or his guru's guru, Pūrnānanda *alias* Chandracūḍa." But since Bühler gives the date of the svāmi's visit to Nepal and since the donee of the above grant (Chandraśēkhara) could have been living at that time as the prospective successor to the pontifical throne, we can say that it was he that went to Nepal, for the names Sōmaśēkhara and Candraśēkhara are synonymous. In the face of such clear evidence we need not suppose that Pūrṇānanda might have gone to Nepal. (See *E.I.*, XIII, pp. 125 *ff*.).

and *Parivrājakācārya*. This succession is corroborated by the list of Nārāyaṇa Śāstri also. Sadāśiva was the recipient of a grant of the village of Udayambākkam in the Chingleput district by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in A.D. 1528. Thus he appears to have succeeded Candraśēkhara Sarasvati between A.D. 1522 and 1528; but we are not able to know the exact date. He compiled the *Puṇyaślokamañjarī* containing the succession list of the pontiffs of the Kāmakōṭi pīṭha.[133]

But some time later this *maṭha* seems to have been shifted to Gajāraṇya-kṣetram or Jambukēśvaram near Trichinopoly. In A.D. 1608 Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura made a grant of land for maintaining worship and for feeding Brahmans in the Śaṅkarācārya maṭha at the place.[134] The copper-plate inscription states that this *maṭha* was located in the street called Poṉvāśi koṇḍāṉ at the village and had been in the possession of the pontiff from early times. But the building which is pointed out as the original one where the *maṭha* was located does not appear to be correct according to the government epigraphist.[135] This apart we do not know why and when the *maṭha* was established there. It might only have been a branch of the Kāmakōṭi pīṭha. But subsequently in A.D. 1739 the *maṭha* was transferred to Tanjore at the request of Pratāpa Siṁha, the Mahratta king of Tanjore, on account of the fact that Conjeevaram was attacked frequently by the Muhammadans. Thence it was shifted to Kumbakōṇam and located at its present place.[136]

The Vyāsarāya maṭha was an important institution that received great patronage from the Vijayanagar kings. Vyāsarāya, the head of the *maṭha*, was the recipient of many gifts from Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. He was succeeded by Vijayīndra Tīrtha, another great scholar. He was a contemporary of the equally famous Appayya Dīkṣita, the great exponent of *Advaita* philosophy. Another head of this *maṭha* who flourished a little later was Rāghavēndra Tīrtha who was a great Vedic scholar and commentator.

The Goḷaki maṭha was an important religious institution in the Vijayanagar days, and it had its branches in the Cuddapah,

133. *Tan. Dt. Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 231.
134. *M.E.R.* Cp. 4 of 1914-15; *Rep.*, 1915, para 54; also *Rep.* for 1909, para 104.
135. *M.E.R.*, 1909, para 104; 1915 para 54.
136. See *Tan. Dt. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pp. 231-32.

Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot districts. Some of them were at Puṣpagiri, Tirupurāntakam, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, etc.[137] Its spiritual influence is said to have extended over three lacs of villages. The inscriptions at Dēvikkāpuram mention Īśāna Śivācārya of the Gōḷaki maṭha, and he appears to have been its head from Ś. 1442 to Ś. 1455. But we do not know the exact date of his death. He was a prominent treasurer and trustee of the temple at the place.[138] A contemporary of his was one Viśvēśvara Śiva who was also very intimately connected with the Dēvikkāpuram temple.[139] "Dēvikkāpuram is even at the present day the headquarters of a line of Śaiva *ācāryas* whose head is now known as Santānaśivācārya. These are the preceptors of certain sects of the Bēriceṭṭi Śaiva merchants. They appear to be connected with the Jñānaśivācāryas of Mullāmḍram (North Arcot district) who are the preceptors of the Tamil speaking Vāṇiyars (oil-mongers). The predecessors of these Jñānaśivācāryas are said to have been related to the famous Diṇḍima family of Sanskrit poets of the Vijayanagar court."[140]

We have evidence of the existence of a few non-Brahman *maṭhas* during the Vijayanagar period. One of them was the Dharmapuram *maṭha*. It appears to have been founded in the sixteenth century. Purnalingam Pillai thinks that the founder of the *maṭha* was one Kumāra Kuruparar, a contemporary of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura; [141] but the author of the Tanjore District Gazetteer is inclined to think that it was one Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍāram of Tiruvārūr, who was appointed the manager of a few temples.[142] The heads of this *maṭha* were great expounders of the Siddhānta Śāstras. Among the pontiffs of this *maṭha* mention may be made of Veḷḷi Ambala Tambirāṉ, Sambanda Śaraṇālaya svāmi and Vaidyanātha Nāvalar.[143]

One of the Śaiva *maṭhas* that gave great encouragement to Tamil learning was the Tiruvāvaḍuturai *maṭha*. It devoted itself

137. 323 of 1905; 272 of 1905; V. R. *I. M. P.*, Mr. 403.

138. 352, 368, 373 and 400 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 55.

139. 354, 365, 389 and 390 of 1912 of dates ranging between Ś. 1429 and 1446.

140. *M.E.R.*, 1924, para 50; see for other references 33-38 of 1917; 209 and 211 of 1924, etc. See also Hultzsch's *Rep. on Sans. Mss.*, No. II, *Intro.*, p. xviii.

141. *Hist. of Tamil Literature*, p. 297.

142. *Tanjore Dt. Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 257.

143. See Purnalingam Pillai, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-98.

to Tamil philosophy and religion and trained many disciples. The first head of this *maṭha* seems to have been one Namaśśivāya Dēśikar who lived about the close of the sixteenth century. He was succeeded by a regular succession on Tambirāṉs among whom mention may be made of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Ambalavāṇa Dēśikar and Īśāna Dēśikar *alias* Svāminātha Dēśikar.[144]

SECTION VIII

Festivals

An important phase of the religious life of a people is the celebration of festivals in different parts of the year. Often these festivals which were religious in significance gained pageantry and show more for spectacular effect than for anything else.

One of such festivals that were celebrated in the Vijayanagar days was the *Mahānavami.* Originally a festival for the propitiation of the Goddess Durgā, it gained great political significance in the Vijayanagar days.[144a] The occasion was taken advantage of by the emperor to hold his court in public in the open space within

144. Purnalingam Pillai, *op. cit.*

144a. The origin of the festival is shrouded in mystery. It has two aspects, one being the worship of Durgā and the other the worship of the arms. The first aspect shows that its celebration is in honour of Pārvatī who fought for nine days against the buffalo demon Bhaṇḍāsura, and came out victorious by killing him on the tenth day, the day of victory, (the Vijayadaśami day). In the course of the fight she killed two other demons, Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa who were the lieutenants of Bhaṇḍāsura, on account of which she came to be called Cāmuṇḍēśvarī. The second aspect of the festival indicates that it is in some way connected with the worship of Indra, the most important of the Gods of the Vedic pantheon, for plenty and prosperity. Such features of the festival as the worship offered to the State Horse, State Elephant, and others appear to represent the worship offered to the respective appurtenances of Indra himself. Or it may be connected with Durgā herself, as Lalitā engaged in fighting the demons. While these are the possible origins of this great national festival of the Hindus, one or two other explanations are offered in connection with the same. One is that it commemorates the victory of Śrī Rāma over Rāvaṇa. Nuniz who witnessed the *Mahānavami* festival at Vijayanagar says that he had heard people say about the festival that it was celebrated "in honour of the nine months in which Our Lady bore her son in the womb." (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 376).

The Hindu kings consider it their duty to have the festival duly performed, for according to the Hindu concept the king represents the people before God and hence as the protector of the religion of the State he has to guide the religious life of the people. He offers worship to the Goddess

the palace enclosures and it was witnessed by the people. On each day of the festival that was held for nine days, the idol which was placed in a prominent place in the plain was worshipped by the king, and during the nights many buffaloes and sheep were killed and sacrificed to the deity. But about the exact number sacrificed our authorities differ. Paes says that on the first day were sacrificed twenty-four buffaloes and one hundred and fifty sheep. But according to Nuniz on the first day were killed nine male buffaloes, nine sheep and nine goats and on each of the following days the number of the previous day was doubled. Paes, however says that fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep were slaughtered on the last day. But the more attractive side of the festival lay in the display of many arts and feats on all the days of the festival. On each of the days the 'lords' of the empire made their *salaam* to the king. The women danced before the sovereign ; and wrestling matches were held. During nights torches were lit and placed in the arena in such a way that the whole was as bright as day. Then there were introduced very graceful plays and contrivances. There were others "with battles of people on horseback." Others came with casting nets, fishing and capturing men that were in the arena. They threw many rockets and " many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling from themselves many bombs (*tiros*) and rockets." There was later witnessed a procession of the triumphal cars which belonged to the " captains " in the order of their status, followed by many horses richly caparisoned with trappings and cloths of very fine stuff and led by the state horse, all of which were arranged in five or six lines before the king in the arena, and passed round by Brahmans, the chief of whom carried in his hand a bowl with a cocoanut, some rice and flowers and the rest carried each a pot of water. These over, a number of the younger maids of the palace covered with gold and pearls appeared in the arena each with a small gold vessel and a lamp of oil burning in it and followed by many women with canes in their hands "tipped with gold" and with torches burning. The grand festival ended with a review of the military by the king which gave occasion for the ordinary people to witness a very grand spectacle. The military appeared in the best of its robes outside the city and the king conducted the review amidst scenes of

both on behalf of himself and of his subjects and invokes her blessings. The victory of the Goddess is deemed to be the victory of good over evil, of man over his lower self, of knowledge over ignorance, and spirit over matter.

great joy and exuberance among the assembled people. Paes who was an eye-witness to one of such reviews ends his description with the words: "Truly I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision and that I was in a dream."[145]

Nicolo dei Conti describes a festival lasting for nine days and gives some curious details. He says: "On the third, which lasts nine days, they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold.

145. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 279. See for a description of the festival by the following:

Paes, Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-279; Nuniz, *ibid.*, pp. 376-78.

Elliot thinks that the details contained in the account of Abdur Razāk about a three days' festival at Vijayanagar (Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV pp. 117-19) also answers to the celebration of the *Mahānavami*. But about the duration of the festival Abdul Razāk makes an intriguing statement. He says: "For three continuous days, from the time the world-enlightened Sun began to glow like a peacock in the heavens, until that when the crow of evening's obscurity displayed its wings and feather this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display . . . . . . During the three days the King sat on the throne upon his cushion." (*Op cit.*, pp. 119 and 120). Suryanarayana Rao suggested that this description may refer to the last three days of the *Mahānavami* festival, being successively the *Durgāṣṭami*, *Mahānavami* and *Vijayadaśami* days of the festival, though in the same breath he felt such an explanation might not be possible (*The Never to be Forgotten Empire*, pp. 325-26 *fn.*). It must be noted that for two reasons Abdur Razāk's description of the three days' festival cannot have any reference to the *Mahānavami*. For one thing a traveller who is generally sober in his account cannot be expected to go wrong in his mention of the number of days for which the festival was celebrated. For another thing the date on which the three days' festival commenced at Vijayanagar according to the Persian ambassador has nothing to do with the date of commencement of the *Mahānavami* festival. According to Abdur Razāk the festival commenced on the full moon day of the month of Rajāb (November-December). (See Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 117). But the *Mahānavami* festival commences on the day next to the new moon day in the month of Kanni, when Āśvija Śuddha commences (September-October). From this conflicting nature of the evidence it is certain that the three days' festival mentioned by Abdur Razāk was different from the *Mahānavami*.

In all probability it was more in the nature of a social gathering to which the chiefs and nobles of the realm were invited. The occasion must have offered an opportunity to the emperors of Vijayanagar to come into close contact with the feudatories. (See Suryanarayana Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 326). This 'Assembly was perhaps the same as the Larger Assembly of the Vijayanagar kings of which mention has been made earlier. (See *ante*, pp. 26-27).

On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons and other odoriferous fruits all of which they bear most patiently."[146]

Another festival which Conti noted was what he thought to be the New Year Day, which according to Domingo Paes fell on October 12 in the year in which he visited Vijayanagar. This was the *Dīpāvaḷi*, commemorating the death of Narakāsura at the hands of Viṣṇu. Conti says that on that occasion males and females of all ages, having bathed in the rivers or the sea, clothed themselves in new garments, and spent three entire days in singing, dancing, and feasting.[147] Paes too describes it as an occasion when every one put on new and handsome clothes and made great feasting, and all captains gave their men handsome clothes, " each one having his own colour and device." It was a new moon day, and Paes speaking about how the year was computed says : " They begin the year in this month with the new moon and they count the months always from moon to moon."[148]

146. Major, *India*, p. 28. If it were a nine days' festival it refers probably to the *Mahānavami* festival, but the facts referred to by him are curious. Evidently the description answers to the festival even now celebrated in certain parts of South India and is known in Tamil as *vaḷukkamaram tuvattal*. A bamboo pole is planted in a place where four streets meet, oil is smeared over it and on the top of it is tied a small cloth containing some coins, which a man is entitled to take if he scales up the pole while men pour water on him. It also answers to the *Uriyaḍi* festival celebrated on the night of the *Srī Kṛṣna Jayanti* day. But this festival is celebrated on only one day.

147. *Ibid.*

148. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-82 ; see also pp. 93 and 140-47. There is some confusion about the exact date when the New Year Day was celebrated at Vijayanagar. There can be no doubt about the fact that the New Year commenced as usual only in March-April on the new moon day. Sewell is evidently wrong when he argues that it was celebrated at Vijayanagar on the first of Kārttika. But the specific mention of Paes that the Vijayanagar kings computed the New Year from October evidently refers to the fact that the official New Year of the government commenced only then, from the day of the *Dīpāvali*. The descriptions of Nicolo dei Conti and Paes largely answer to this festival of the Hindus when they wear new clothes. It may also be noted that to the Mārwāḍi businessmen the financial New Year commences only on this day, when they start their fresh accounts.

The *Kārttigai* festival was celebrated in honour of the death of Bali at the hands of Viṣṇu in the person of Vāmana. Conti who saw the festival describes it as follows: "They fix up within their temple, and on the outside of their roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of susimanni which are kept day and night."[149]

The festivals in the temple were generally concluded by a car festival. Many of the foreign travellers have given descriptions of it. But two of them, Nicolo dei Conti and Linschoten, give certain interesting details about it, which, however, look incredible. The former describes the car festival he saw as follows: "In Bizengalia also, at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death, a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their God. Others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament and thus suspended and half dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all."[150] The latter says that while the car was being dragged there were a few who made certain sacrifices to the God. He observes: "There are some of them, that out of the great Zeale and pure devotion doe cut peeces of flesh out of their bodies and throw them down before the pagode: others lay themselves under the wheeles of the Cart, and let the Cart runne over them, whereby they are all crushed to peeces and pressed to death, and they that thus die, are accounted for holy and devout martyrs and from that time forwards are kept and preserved for great and holy reliques, besides a thousand other such like beastly superstitions."[151] But though the accounts of both are too vivid to be dismissed as untrustworthy, yet it is difficult to believe them.[152]

149. Major, *India*, p. 28; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 86; both Sewell and Saletore identify this description with the *Dīpāvaḷi* festival. It may be noted in this connection that in the Tamil country lamps are not lit on a large scale on the *Dīpāvaḷi* day. But it is done so only on the day of the *Kārttigai* festival. (See Saletore, *Pol. and Soc. Life*, II, p. 387).

150. Major, *India*, p. 28; Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

151. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 274.

152. For the descriptions of the festivals by other foreign travellers, see the following:—Paes: Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 255; Pimenta: Purchas, *His Pilgrims*,

Sometimes car festivals were conducted for a number of days together. According to a record of A.D. 1562 a grant was made for conducting a car festival for fifteen days.[153] In 1495 another grant was made for the celebration of the car festival for nine days.[154]

The floating festival was another which concluded a long one. A record of A.D. 1606 mentions it.[155]

The spring festival celebrated in honour of Kāma was also conducted annually. A number of inscriptions refer to such a festival. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is described in one such as one " who every year performed a sacrifice to (Kāma) the lord of the golden festival of spring."[156]

The *Holi* concluded this festival in the temples of Kāma or Cupid. Nicolo dei Conti who witnessed one such describes it as follows: During the festival "they sprinkle all passers by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron water, placed for that purpose on the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter."[157] Pietro della Valle who saw it at Surat observes: "March the fifteenth was the first day of the feast of the Indian Gentiles which they celebrate very solemnly at the entrance of the Spring with dancing through the street, and casting orange water and red colours in jest one upon the other, with other festivities of songs and mummeries."[158]

X, p. 207; Veiga: *Ibid.*, pp. 220-22; Pietro dello Valle: *Travels*, II, pp. 259-60.

Saletore thinks that the car festival held in the temple at the close of a festival was the same as the *Rathasaptami*. But the one is different from the other. The *Rathasaptami* is simply the day on which the sun is believed to turn north after the *Dakṣiṇāyanam*. And the car festival in the temples has nothing to do with it.

153. *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 30.

154. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 34.

155. *M.A.R.*, 1912-13, para 44.

156. *E.I.*, I, p. 370 and *fn.* 64; see also 371 of 1921 and *Nel. Ins.*, III, p. 1366.

157. Major, *India*, pp. 28-29.

158. *Travels*, I, pp. 122-23. Nicolo dei Conti's statement that it was saffron water may not be quite correct. Water is boiled with saffron and then some slaked lime is added to it which gives it red colour. Sometimes rosewater and sweet scented oils are added to it, and sprinkled on passers by without distinction. It is interesting to note that the practice obtains even to-day, though only to a limited extent, among the Mārwāḍis.

The occasion was taken advantage of for holding courts. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya used to hear the poets assembled at the court for the spring festival.[159] The *Jāmbavatīkalyāṇam*, a drama written by the emperor-poet, was enacted before the people assembled to witness the *Caitra* (spring) festival of Śrī Virūpākṣa.[160]

From the inscriptions of the period we learn that there were a number of other minor festivals that were conducted during the different seasons of the year. They were for example the festivals on the first day of the month, the eleventh of the moon, the full moon, the new moon, Pañcaparvams,[161] Śivarātri,[162] Makarasaṅkrānti, [163] daśami,[164] ēkādaśi, davādaśi[165] and so on.

Section IX

Village Gods and Deities

An account of the religious conditions of the period will not be complete without a mention of the village Gods and their festivals. The village deities were considered to be the guardian deities that protected the people of the respective villages from evil spirits, and were propitiated by the residents. As Whitehead remarks, " the sole object of the worship of these village deities is to propitiate them and avert their wrath. There is no idea of praise and thanksgiving, no expression of gratitude or love, no desire for any spiritual or moral blessings. The one object is to get rid of cholera, small-pox,........The worship, therefore, in most of the villages takes place occasionally."[166]

An important feature of the festivals conducted in the temples of these village deities is the bloody sacrifices offered to them. Buffaloes and sheep were killed before them during nights, and offered to them. Paes says that in the city of Vijayanagar no sheep was to be killed anywhere except before the temple of one

159. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 138.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 142 ; see also *ibid*, p. 57 , for a reference to it in the *Harivilāsam* of Śrīnātha.
161. *As. Res.*, XX, p. 30.
162. *E.C.*, V., Bl, 4 ; *E.C.* XII, Mi. 20.
163. 280 of 1915.
164. 181 of 1913.
165. 373 and 374 of 1919.
166. *Village Gods of South India*, p. 46 ; see also *South Indian Gods and Goddesses* by H. Krishna Śāstri, pp. 223-24 and 226-27.

of these guardian deities. Sometimes human sacrifice too was made to appease them. Paes and Nuniz say that for the successful termination of the construction of the reservoir at Nāgalāpura "the heads of sixty men and of certain horses and buffaloes" were cut off. Nuniz says that they were Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's prisoners and "deserved death."[167]

The Jogis or the travelling mendicants took some part in such temple offerings. They possessed nothing of their own and their dress consisted of "bands of moorish brass on which hang girdles of many coins which dangle on both sides." Referring to them Barbosa says: "They carry a small horn or trumpet, on which they blow."[168] While describing a temple at "Darcha" (Dharwar) Paes says that the Jogi was present when beasts were slaughtered for the propitiation of the Gods and that as soon as the head of the sheep or goat was cut off he blew a horn as a signal that the idol received that sacrifice.[168a]

A feature of the worship of the village deities was what is known as the hook swinging. But the ceremony appears to have been different at different times. Nicolo dei Conti, as has been said earlier, says that the people made an incision in their side and hung themselves to the chariot by way of ornament.[169] But Barbosa who saw the same ceremony a century later notes certain interesting details with regard to it. He says that hook swinging was performed by certain maids who had vowed to perform it if they were able to marry the person of their heart. When their desire was about to be accomplished they performed the ceremony. They hung themselves by two sharp iron hooks thrust into their loins. The hooks were attached to a water lift, and when it was raised they remained hanging from the lift with the blood running down their legs showing no sign of pain, but waving their dagger most joyfully all the while, and throwing limes at their respective husbands. In this way they were carried to the temple wherein was the idol to whom they had vowed such a sacrifice. They were later handed over to their respective husbands. The occasion was taken advantage of for making gifts to Brahmans and idols.[170] But

167. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 and 365.
168. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 230-31.
168a. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
169. Major, *India*, p. 28.
170. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 220-22.

Pietro della Valle who was an eye-witness to the festival which was celebrated at Ikkēri in 1623 gives a different account of it. He says that on certain holy days the devout people were wont to hang themselves by the flesh upon hooks fastened to the top beam raised for the purpose and remain hanging for some time, while all the while blood was running down from their body. They also waved their sword and buckler in the air and sang verses in praise of their Gods.[171] But this festival has disappeared now. Buchanan who visited Mysore in 1773 A.D. says "that the ceremony was not performed before the great Gods, and that the southern Brahmans looked upon it as an abomination, fit only for the grovelling understanding of the vulgar."[172] Fire-walking which is another feature of the worship of the village deities must have been prevalent, but is now fast disappearing.

Another interesting custom of certain classes of people in the Karnāṭaka districts was the amputation of the last joints of two fingers (little finger and the ring finger) of the wives of the farmers in honour of Kālabhairava. The classes of cultivators who observed this custom were known as 'finger giving classes.' "There was till recently, it appears, a regular establishment in the temple for carrying on the amputation—a goldsmith for cutting off the finger and others for dressing the wound, and for kneading the finger and holding it so that no blood might be shed at the time. The devotees had also to pay certain fixed proportions among the *arcak* and other servants of the temple as well as among the *āyagārs* of the village such as the Shanbog, patel, goldsmith, barber, etc. They had moreover to bring a fixed quantity of rice per head. An inscription of about the fourteenth century fixes the proportions in which this rice (*viral ariśi*) was to be provided among the goldsmiths and others."[173]

A popular phase of the religion prevalent in the Vijayanagar days as it still is, was the worship of the Nāgas (snakes). Virūpākṣa himself was considered to be the Lord of the Nāgas. The Vijayanagar sovereigns worshipped the Nāgas and consi-

171. *Travels*, II, p. 259.

172. *Journey Through Malabar*, II, p. 440.

173. *M.A.R.*, 1909-10, para 16; "when the amputation was prohibited by the government the 'finger-giving' classes raised a strong but unavailing protest against the prohibition. They have now adopted the harmless substitute of having the fingers wound round with flowers in the temple and of unwinding the same with due ceremony on return to their village."



1.56

Pipal and Margosa, near Madura

dered Śiva as Nāganātha, the lord of the Nāgas. Their queens set up *nāgakkals* in the temples, which they attended, and also special female Nāga deities.[174] Childless women used to vow to instal a *nāgakkal* (snake stone), *nāgapratiṣṭhai*, if they were blessed with children. The *nāgakkal* was given life (*prāṇapratiṣṭhai*) by the recitation of certain mantras and installed under the shade of a pipal or margosa tree, preferably under a pipal tree. Such *Nāgas* and *Nagīs* were worshipped on a large scale in the Vijayanagar days.[175] Similarly cows were held in great veneration.[176]

Tree worship was also prevalent. The pipal and the margosa trees were the objects of great veneration and worship. They were married according to Brahmanical rites. An epigraph of A.D. 1358 records that a particular individual performed the *upanayanam* of the pipal trees planted at the four corners of the tank at Aruvaṇahaḷḷi.[177]

174. See *Mad. Ar. Sur. Rep.*, 1914-15, p. 38.
175. See Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, pp. 28-31.
176. See for a tradition about the worship of cows, Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and trade of China, Toung Pao*, XVI, p. 456 and *fn.* 2.
177. E.C., III, Ml. 22.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

SECTION I

Education

Ideas of popular and mass education are as yet new in India. In ancient and mediaeval India liberal or general education was not considered to be necessary for all people. But each caste or community had its own educational system which was of a technical character. The education of the different classes of people was determined by the nature of their occupation. The state did not very much interfere with the educational system that obtained in the empire. It neither maintained schools for the people, nor materially encouraged even private initiative.

But each village or each small group of villages had a pial school in which the teacher, who was generally called the *vātti*, taught the three R's to the children of school-going age. The school was either held in the pial of the house of the teacher or under the shade of some big tree. The remuneration of the teacher consisted of payments both in kind and cash. We have an interesting description of the working of the schools and the method of teaching followed in them, in the writings of the traveller Pietro della Valle. He says: "They (the boys) were four, and having taken the lesson from the master, in order to get the same by heart and repeat likewise their former lessons and not forget them, one of them singing musically with a certain continued tone (which hath the force of making a deep impression in the memory) recited part of the lesson; as for example, 'one by itself makes one,' and whilst he was thus speaking, he writ down the same number, not with any kind of pen, nor on paper, but (not to spend paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strewed all over with very fine sand ; after the first had writ what he sang, all the rest sang and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sang and writ down another part of the lesson; as for example, 'two by itself makes two' which all the rest repeated in the same manner, and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures, they put them out with the hand, and if need be strewed it over with new sand from a little heap which

they had before them wherewith to write further. And thus they did as long as the exercise continu'd, in which manner likewise they told me, they learnt to read and write without spoiling paper, pens or ink which certainly is a pretty way."[1] Thus the pial schools served as places where the young boys learnt the three R's. According to Ibn Battuta the town of Onore contained twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen for girls.[2] Added to this general education the members of the different professions underwent courses of training suited to their respective professions.

The presence of the Jesuit Fathers in the Vijayanagar empire led to the foundation of certain types of schools where the vernaculars were taught by the Christian missionaries and the new converts to their faith. Thus at Madura Fr. Fernandes established a primary school for the Hindus where a Brahman convert to Christianity taught the boys to read and write. Fr. Pimenta while he chanced to pass through Madura, visited the school and distributed some prizes among the best pupils of the school.[3] Fr. Pimenta founded a school at St. Thomé where Telugu and Tamil were taught. In 1567 Fr. H. Henriquez established a Tamil school at Punnei Kayal for the young Goans who were sent there as catechists and himself taught the pupils in the school. His assistant was one Luiz, a Brahman convert. Another school was founded at Candragiri for the benefit of the sons of the nobles of the court. The missionaries employed a Hindu teacher in that school.[4]

But the system of Brahmanical education was different. Eminent pandits and scholars conducted small schools of their own and trained students in the study of the Vedas and allied literature. This education was also mainly the result of private initiative and effort. At Aḍayapalam and Vēlūr (North Arcot district), for instance, Appayya Dīkṣita established schools where provision was made for the teaching of about five hundred students in the *Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya*.[5] In some places, certain portions of the tem-

1. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, II, p. 227; see also *Ancient Indian Education* by Keay, pp. 149-152; *J.R.A.S.*, 1834, pp. 15 *ff* for an article on the School System of the Hindus.
2. These were probably exclusively intended for Mussalmans. *Ibn Battuta*, Broadway Travellers, p. 230. Also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, pp. 220, 234.
3. *Du Jarric*, I, p. 650, quoted in *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 528.
4. See *ibid.*, pp. 528-29 and the authorities quoted therein.
5. 395 of 1911.

ple buildings were set apart for conducting such classes. At Conjeevaram there was a *Vēdamaṭha* in the temple of Viṣṇu where such classes were held.[6] The teachers in these schools appear to have been remunerated by assignments of lands, the income from which they could enjoy. Thus according to an inscription at Vēppūr (North Arcot district) of the time of Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, a piece of land was granted to a particular individual as an *adhyayanavṛtti.*[7] Acyuta Rāya made a grant of the village of Kambampaḷḷi to Peda Kṛṣṇamācārlu, son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita, for the promotion of studies in the *Ubhayavedānta.*[8] A record at Viriñcipuram, (North Arcot district) dated A.D. 1535, mentions the grant of a number of *kuḷis* of land for the benefit of two Brahmans, Timmappaṉ and Śaivādirāyar Vasantarāyaguru who taught the Ṛg śākhā and Yajus śākhā respectively.[9] Similarly in A.D. 1579 a few villages were granted as *bhaṭṭa vṛttimānyams* in Podiliśīme (Nellore district) for carrying on work connected with learning.[10]

In the beginning of the seventeenth century education at Madura was purely in private hands. That place which was the seat of the ancient *Śaṅgam* continued to be a centre of learning under the Madura Nāyaks also. Fr. de Nobili in one of his letters written in A.D. 1610 says that there were more than ten thousand students at the place who went to different professors for study. The same missionary, while referring to Veṅkaṭa the emperor and the Nāyak of Madura, probably Muttu Kṛṣṇappa, says that they "royally endowed several colleges for the maintenance of professors and students while they are studying; they are there supplied victuals, clothes, and everything they are in need of."[11]

These Madura teachers were engaged in giving a course of instruction in Vedānta. The lectures fell into four groups Argumentation, Knowledge, Evidence and Faith. Speaking about the method how philosophical studies were pursued, Fr. de Nobili says that the whole course was divided into three parts the first dealing with evidence, the second with knowledge and the third with

6. 32 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 355.
7. 21 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 344.
8. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 100.
9. 50 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, I, No. 120.
10. *Nel. Ins.*, III, Podili, 34.
11. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 525-26.

authority. Each of these parts was divided into smaller divisions which the Jesuit Father noted down with great care.[12]

Encouragement was also given for the recitation of religious literature in the temples. In A.D. 1523 for example a gift of land to a particular individual was made, its object being the recitation of the Sanskrit Vedas, Draviḍa Vedas (*Prabandhams*) and the exposition of the Vedānta.[13] Eleven years later Acyutayyadēva Mahārāya made a gift of land and a house for the merit of Periya svāmi Narasānāyaka to each of the two Vaiṣṇava Brahmans who recited the *Purāṇam* known as the *Bhakti Sañjīvinī* in the temple at Naraśiṅgapuram (Chingleput district).[14]

Apart from such private initiative, public institutions like the *maṭha* and the temple devoted themselves to the popularisation of education.[15] We have seen in an earlier section how there are numerous instances to show that the *maṭhas* were so many educational institutions in India.[16] But the temples appear to have encouraged the study of ancient literature only indirectly by making provision for the recitation of the Vedas and *prabandhams* in the temple. Thus in A.D. 1449-50 the village of Manattaṉ *alias* Śiṟutampuram was given away to a servant of the temple of Poṉ Amarāvati (Pudukkōṭṭai State) for the service of singing the hymns of Śaḍagōpaṉ.[17]

The state, however, made endowments for the study of certain subjects and honoured great scholars and literary celebrities. Technical sciences like astrology, astronomy and medicine also received great patronage from the Vijayanagar court. In A.D. 1556-57 the great scholar and astrologer Sarvabhaṭṭa was granted a village with all its income.[18] In 1515 the village of Nāgulavaram and a field measuring 2,250 *kuṇṭas* were granted to a Brahman astronomer who was versed in (the science of) the movements of stars, an expert in the science of the *Yantras* (mystic tantric diagrams for worship) and an astronomer versed in the science of *Yāmala* (*Rudrayāmala*, a certain treatise on *mantra*).[19] According to a copper-plate a village was granted to Sampat

12. See *ibid.*, pp. 525-28.
13. 627 of 1904.
14. 240 of 1910.
15. See *infra* pp. 332-3.
16. *Ibid.*
17. 20 of 1909.
18. Cp. 5 of 1917-18.
19. *Nel. Ins.*, I, Cp. 16.

Kumāra who had with him excellent and learned Brahmans of various *gotras* and relatives, who was the foremost among the physicians and who was the renowned son of the great Gōvinda Paṇḍita, who was a great scholar in *Āyurveda* and the *Vedāṅgas*.[20] A Brahman doctor was the recipient of a gift of land perhaps in recognition of his abilities in his profession.[21] Similarly scholars who had acquired a vast amount of general learning were greatly honoured. Thus a scholar (unnamed) who wrote a work called *Bhāṣya Bhūṣā* was honoured by a grant of land.[22] Mallikārjuna Rāya honoured one Āditya Rāya, a Brahman learned in the Vedas, Śāstras, Purāṇas and the six systems of philosophy with the grant of a village named Dēvarāyapura, in recognition of his scholarship. It is said the scholar was examined by the king in all branches of learning in a learned assembly, and was honoured in open court.[23] Tirumaladēva Mahārāya made a grant of one *vṛtti* of land in a village for the study of the Ṛg Veda and another for that of Yajur Veda.[24] According to a copper-plate grant, Veṅkaṭapati Rāya made a gift of land in A.D. 1612-13 to the scholar Rāmakṛṣṇa Jōsya who belonged to the Hārīta Gotra and Āpastamba sūtra, and was well versed in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Tarka (logic), Smṛti, and Sūryasiddhānta.[25] Similarly, at the request of Nāga Nāyaka, son of Malla Nāyaka, Immaḍi Narasiṁha made a grant of Cākenahalli to forty persons well versed in Mīmāmsā, Nyāya, the three Vedas, the Purānas, the Smṛtis, the *tantras* and the *mantras* and who were strict observers of the religious customs and ceremonies.[26] In the Vijayanagar days there lived many such scholars who received great patronage at the hands of the ruling sovereigns. To mention only a few of them: they were Mādhava, Vidyāraṇya, Vēdānta Dēśika, Diṇḍima Kavi, Tātācārya, Vyāsarāya Tīrtha, and Appayya Dīkṣita.

The condition of literacy among the people in the Vijayanagar days can be gleaned through the style, orthography and script used in the inscriptions of the period. Royal grants were composed in the language of the territory in which the inscription was to be

20. *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 307-17; V. R. *I.M.P.*, N.A. 625; *Cat. of Cop. Plates in the Mad. Mus.*, No. 9, pp. 45-46.
21. Cp. 2 of 1913-14.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *E.C.*, VI, pg. 69.
24. *E.I.*, XVI, p. 245 and p. 257, l. 73; Cp. 1 of 1912-13.
25. Cp. 7 of 1922-23.
26. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 111.

engraved. Though a few epigraphs were in Sanskrit or in Telugu even in the Tamil districts the portions of the inscriptions wherein were described the boundaries of lands and similar other details of general local interest and importance were generally in Tamil. So far as the Tamil epigraphs are concerned a perceptible deterioration is seen both in the matter of style and in orthography. This was evidently due to the fact that the composition and engraving of the inscriptions were in the hands of men of mediocre abilities.

The composers of the inscriptions were the later representatives of the *Sūtas*, and *Māghadas* of ancient Sanskrit literature. Their office seems to have been hereditary in certain families. They were not only composers of grants but also the reciters of laudatory verses on important ceremonial occasions, on the achievements of the kings and the proclamation of their titles. They were also to relate the valorous deeds of the kings and their ancestors, which picture was generally exaggerated and coloured. Bhaṭṭa Baciappa for instance was so good at his office that he has been called in an inscription "......a head jewel of the Baḍavārukula, a master of the Gautama Gotra......a garland of love to royal bhats...... fearless champion of eulogisers, illustrious Baciyappa of the Bhaṭas."[27]

Next mention may be made of the *śāsanācāryas* who were the engravers of royal edicts. Imperial grants or orders were generally engraved on stone or copper plates by these engravers. They generally belonged to the carpenter class but a few stray inscriptions indicate that Brahmans were also employed in the work.[28] Men of position and eminence were also employed as engravers. This is indicated by the fact that in A.D. 1475 one Timmarasa, the son of *Aṭhavaṇi* (revenue) Dēvarasa, was an engraver.[29] In another case in A.D. 1431 one Pratāpa Rāya, the son of Maṅgappa Daṇṇāyaka, was an engraver.[30] These instances indicate that the engravers must have been well paid.

Writing was generally done on palm leaves. Describing this practice Abdur Razāk remarks: "These people have two kinds of writing, one upon the leaf of the Hindi nut (cocoanut) (a mistake for *tāḍi* palm) which is two yards long, and two digits broad

27. *E.C.*, III, Ml. 42, text, see also *ibid.*, 47, for a few other titles of his.
28. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281.
29. *E.C.*, X, Bp. 20.
30. *E.C.*, IX, Bn. 127.

on which they scratch with an iron style. These characters possess no colour and endure but for a little while. In the second kind they blacken a white surface, on which they write with a soft stone cut into the shape of a pen, so that the characters are white on a black surface and are durable. This kind of writing is highly esteemed."[31] Barbosa described the same practice which he saw at the time of his visit to Calicut.[32]

Mention may be made here of the casting of the Tamilian characters and the introduction of printing in the Tamil country. The first book containing a summary of the Christian doctrine was printed in 1577 by the letters having been cast by the Jesuit lay Brother Giovanni (Joa) Gonslaves. Fr. De Souza while describing how these early printings were received by the people says: "Those countries were marvelling at the new invention, and pagans as well as Christians tried to obtain these printed books and prized them highly."[33]

SECTION II

Literature: Sanskrit

The prosperity and greatness of a particular empire or age can be well gauged by the number and character of the literary productions of the period. Considered from this point of view, there are certain marked periods in the history of India which are characterised by an outburst of intense literary activity and the production of works of great literary value. Among them prominent mention may be made of the Gupta period in North Indian History and the Cōḻa and Vijayanagar periods in South Indian History. The causes that contributed to such great literary activity were many, and perhaps the most important among them was a renaissance in the field of religion. As in the Christian world, so in India, literary activity has gone hand in hand with religious revival in the country; and the result is the production of voluminous literature of a religious, philosophical and sectarian character. The Vijayanagar period saw the production of such works; besides these there were also produced works of a historical or semi-his-

31. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, pp. 107-08.
32. *Barbosa*, II, p. 18.
33. See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 530-31.

torical character not to speak of *Prabandhams, Kāvyams* and other types of literary compositions.

A marked characteristic of the literary activity in the Vijayanagar period was the fact that the literary celebrities who flourished then were greatly patronised by the ruling sovereigns, though there were differences in the religious faith between the sovereigns and the scholars. Examples of such cases are not rare in the period. Harihara II who was an orthodox Hindu by faith, had as his minister Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, a Jain, who was the author of the Sanskrit work *Nānārtharatnamālā.* Veṅkaṭa II who was a staunch Vaiṣṇava, was a great patron of Appayya Dīkṣita, his contemporary and a great *Advaita* philosopher, who flourished in the court of Cinna Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr. The Dīkṣita himself says in his *Kuvalayānanda* that he was patronised by Veṅkaṭa and that he wrote the work at his request. Another interesting fact that deserves notice in this connection is the fact that many of the sovereigns were not only patrons of learning but were also learned authors themselves. This is borne out by the fact that many of them not only wrote important literary works but also assumed titles which throw light on the point. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and the Nāyak ruler Raghunātha of Tanjore besides being patrons of learning were also authors of several important Telugu and Sanskrit works, though it must be said that the former had a partiality for Telugu. Harihara II assumed the enviable titles *Rāja-Vyāsa, Rāja-Vālmīki* and *Karnāṭaka Vidyā Vilāsa* which show in unmistakable terms that he was himself an author of great works of literature besides being a patron of literary men.[34] Besides, there flourished in the period many poetesses who wrote valuable literary works. Prominent among them are Gaṅgādēvī, the wife of Vīra Kampaṇa, who wrote the *Madhurāvijayam*, Tirumalāmbā, a queen of Acyuta Rāya, the authoress of the *Varadāmbikā Pariṇayam*, and Rāmabhadrāmbā, a poetess of merit who lived in the court of Raghunātha of Tanjore and was the authoress of the *Raghunāthābhyudayam.*

Vēdānta Dēśika (1268-1368):

Vēdānta Dēśika, an orthodox Vaiṣṇava of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was the nephew of one Ātrēya Rāmānuja, the great-grandson of one Praṇatārtihara, a nephew and disciple of

34. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 34; *M.E.R.*, 11 of 1915, *Rep.*, 1915, para 41.

Rāmānuja. He was a devotee of Śrī Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam and when that temple was about to fall into the hands of the Muhammadans he took the idol and fled with it to the Malayāḷam country where he wandered for some time, and finally came to Jiñji and he built a temple for God Raṅganātha and consecrated him there. Later he reconsecrated Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam with the help of Kampaṇa who defeated the Muhammadan Sultan of Madura and brought the Cōḻamaṇḍalam under the Vijayanagar yoke.

Vēdānta Dēśika was a versatile genius of rare ability and was a prolific writer both in Sanskrit and Tamil, in prose and in verse. He wrote about one hundred and twenty works of which about thirty were in Tamil and the rest in Sanskrit which included also works in Prākṛt. His *Yādavābhyudayam* is a long *mahākāvya* in twenty-one cantos on the life of Kṛṣṇa. This work was so well appreciated by the later Advaita teacher and philosopher Appayya Dīkṣita that he wrote a very valuable commentary to it. The *Haṁsa Saṁdeśa* of Vēdānta Dēśika is modelled on Kāḷidāsa's *Meghadūta*.[35] The *Saṅkalpa Sūryodaya*, another work of his, is a long allegorical drama in ten acts presenting the system of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. In that work the author personifies the evil and good dispositions of man like love, hate, discrimination and ignorance and introduces them on the stage. There is an innate grandeur throughout the whole work which was written on the model of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*. This work of Vēdānta Dēśika is to the system of Rāmānujācārya what Kṛṣṇamiśra's work is to that of Śaṅkarācārya. The *Subhāṣita nīvī* is a didactic work of 144 stanzas in very difficult style.[36] Most of the verses yield two meanings. The *Śatadūṣaṇi* of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher is an anti-advaitic work, and is one of the most polemical treatises in Vaiṣṇava literature. With a view to expound the *Śrī Bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja he wrote the *Tattvaṭīkā*, an extensive gloss on it. Vēdānta Dēśika was also the author of *Tātparyacandrikā*, an elaborate commentary on the Gīta Bhāṣya, *Nyāya Siddhāñjana* an incomplete text-book on *Viśiṣṭādvaita* system, *Adhikaraṇa Sārāvaḷi*, a string of Sanskrit verses which summarises the discussions of the various sections of the Vēdānta Sūtras, and the *Tattvamuktā Kalapa* which discusses in an elaborate and critical manner the nature of the universe in the light of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophy. His *Rahasya traya sāra*

35. T. Rajagopalachar, *Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, p. 86.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 86; *M.E.R.*, 1913, para 71.

(Tamil) is a very famous work in which he elaborates the doctrine of self-surrender (*prapatti*). He also wrote a large number of Prabandhaic works. From his facile pen emanated the 74,000, a commentary on the works of the Āḻvārs, special commentaries on Tiruppāṇāḻvār's *Amalanādippirāṉ* and a large number of others. Thus the life of Vēdānta Dēśika was one of unceasing literary and religious activity.[37]

Mādhavācārya :

Among the literary celebrities that flourished in the fourteenth century and had very intimate relations with the royal house of Vijayanagar, Mādhavācārya was the most notable. He was the son of Māyaṇa, a Brahman of the Bhāradvāja gotra, Bodhāyana sūtra and Yajuś-śākhā. Mādhavācārya is reputed to have been the author of a large number of works bearing on a variety of subjects like philosophy, grammar, sacrificial ritual, etc.

The first among the works of Mādhava was the *Parāśarasmṛtivyākhyā*, a commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* ; and it prescribes rules for the daily conduct and rituals of the Hindus. He has added a section on *Vyavahāra* as a supplement to that work, as Parāśara did not deal with it in his *smṛti* ; the work is known as *Vyavahāramādhava*. Another work of his is the *Kālamādhavīya* or *Kālanirṇaya*, which, according to the author himself, was written by him after the completion of his commentary on *Parāśarasmṛti*, to explain the details about *Dharma* and when and how the acts of *Dharma* were to be performed. *Jīvanmuktiviveka* is another important work of Mādhava on Advaita Vedānta. In this work the author gives the rules which the Paramahaṁsas (a class of ascetics) were to follow. Mādhava wrote another work called the *Jaiminīyanyāyamālā vistara*. It is an exposition of the Karmamīmāmsā system in verse, and contains the explanation of the sūtras of Jaimini and the significance of the sacrifices and rituals connected with them. According to the author he first composed the basic text in verses, the *Jaiminīyanyāyamālā*, which was very much appreciated by king Bukka in open court ; he was requested to elaborate the work and therefore he wrote the *vistara* which is a comment on the same. The colophon at its end says that Mādhavā-

37. See *J. B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV, for an article on the life and times of Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika by V. Rangachary. See also Life of Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika, by Mr. A. V. Gopalachar in the *Yādavābhyudayam*, Vol. I, *Intro.*, and *Vaishnavite Reformers of India* by T. Rajagopalachar.

cārya was an ornament to the science of Mīmāmsā.[38] A few scholars believe that Mādhava wrote the *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha.* But it appears that it was Mādhava, the son of Sāyaṇa, that was the author of the work, as can be inferred from the words 'Sāyaṇa Mādhava' used in the third and fourth verses of the prologue to the work.[39]

Mādhavācārya was greatly honoured at the Vijayanagar court. According to the *Parāśaramādhavīyam* he was the minister and *kulaguru* of king Bukka, and was called Madhavāmātya and *Sāmrājyadurandhara* (bearer of the burden of the government) of Mahārājādhirāja Vīra Bukka as Āṅgīrasa was to Indra. In the *Kālamādhavīya* and the *Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara* also Mādhava states that he was patronised by Bukka I.

Mādhavācārya was an orthodox householder. In his *Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara* he describes himself as a performer of the soma sacrifice in every spring (*Prativasanta somayājin*). References to Mādhava in his brother Sāyaṇācārya's works also show that he was an orthodox householder. In his *Yajñatantrasudhānidhi*, Sāyaṇa describes Mādhava as a performer of great sacrifices (*mahākratūnām āhartā Mādhavāryāh sahodaraḥ*).[40] In the *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi* of Sāyaṇa, Mādhava is described as enjoying various pleasures (*anantabhoga saṁsaktaḥ*).[41]

Mādhavācārya seems to have had three *gurus*, Vidyā Tīrtha, Bhārati Tīrtha and Śrīkaṇṭha. Vidyā Tīrtha was considered by Mādhava as an incarnation of Maheśvara. Bhārati Tīrtha is referred to in Mādhava's *Jaiminīyanyāyamālā* as his *guru* and it is believed that he wrote a portion of the *Pañcadaśi prakaraṇa*. Śrīkaṇṭhanātha

38. *Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara*, Anandāśrama Series.

39. Cowell and Gough however think that it refers to Mādhavācārya and explain the term Sāyaṇa Mādhava thus : "Māyana elsewhere calls Sāyaṇa his younger brother, as an allegorical description of his body, himself the eternal soul. His use of the term Sāyana Mādhava here (not the dual) seems to prove that the two names represent the same person. The body seems meant by the Sāyana of the third śloka. Māyaṇa was the father of Mādhava and the true reading may be Śrīman Māyaṇa." (*Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*—Translated by Cowell, p. 272, *fn.* 1). The natural interpretation of the terms like Sāyaṇa Mādhava according to the usage of the time is to take the first name to be that of the father and the second that of the son. There is no reason why this method should not be adopted here also.

40. *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 2.

41. *Ibid.*

also is mentioned as a *guru* of Mādhava in the *Parāśara Mādhavīyam.*

This Mādhavācārya has generally been considered to have assumed the yellow robes and is identified with Vidyāraṇya of the Śṛṅgēri maṭha. But it is highly doubtful if such an identification can be supported on strong and reliable evidence.

Sāyaṇa :

Sāyaṇa, the younger brother of Mādhavācārya, was an equally eminent scholar-statesman. As he himself says in his *Alaṅkāra sudhānidhi,* he was the minister of Kampa I and his son Saṅgama II, and later served in the court of Bukka I and saw the enthronement of Harihara II. On account of the infancy of Saṅgama, Sāyaṇa acted as his regent for some time,[42] and during that time he gave his royal pupil the liberal education necessary for princes. He also took part in that period in a campaign against Campa. He was a householder and had three sons named Kampaṇa, Māyaṇa and Śiṅgaṇa.[43] Sāyaṇācārya was a great scholar and a prolific writer. A few of his works may be noted here. He compiled the *Subhāṣita sudhānidhi,* a literary anthology during the time of Kampa I as is stated in the colophon itself,[44] wrote *Dhātuvṛtti,* a work on Sanskrit verbs, *Prāyaścittasudhānidhi* also known as *Karmavipāka,* a work describing penances, *Yajñatantrasudhānidhi,* a treatise on ritual, and *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi,* explaining the figures of speech, all written during the time of Saṅgama II.[45] During the time of Bukka he wrote his commentaries on the Vedas and the *Puruṣārthasudhānidhi* consisting of Purāṇic teachings.[46] But it appears that he completed his *Yajñatantrasudhānidhi* only during the time of Harihara II for though he refers to Saṅgama at the beginning of his work, in the colophon at the end of the work he says that he wrote it in the reign of Harihara II.[47] Sāyaṇa wrote the following commentaries on the Vedas : *Taittirīyāraṇyaka bhāṣya,*[48]

42. *Ind. Ant.,* 1916, p. 23.

43. See *ibid.,* p. 23 ; A Cp. grant of Harihara II of A.D. 1377 mentions a grant made to Sāyaṇa and Śiṅgana (*M.A.R.,* 1915, para 89).

44. *Ind. Ant.,* 1916, p. 2.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.* in the Lib. of the Cal. Sans. College, 1894, No. 2.

48. Ānandāśrama Series, 1891.

Śukla Yajurvedasaṁhitā bhāṣya,[49] *Vamśabrāhmaṇa bhāṣya*,[50] *Taittirīyaṣaṁhitā bhaṣya*,[51] *Sāma veda samhitā bhāṣya*,[52] *Atharva-veda saṁhitā bhāṣya*,[53] and the *Ṛg Veda bhāṣya*.[54]

The composition of the Vedic commentaries is often attributed to Mādhavācārya, for in the colophons of many of them the term *Mādhavīyam* occurs, or at least it is considered they were the joint productions of Mādhava and Sāyaṇa. But the colophons of all these works state that they were the productions of Sāyaṇa and were called *Mādhavīyam*. In the *Vaṁśabrāhmaṇa bhāṣya*, Sāyaṇa says that he took up the *Brāhmaṇas* for interpretation after finishing the commentaries on the *Ṛg*, *Yajus* and *Sāma Veda Samhitās*. Likewise in the introductory verses in the *Atharvaveda Samhitā bhāṣya* he says that he took up that work after writing a commentary on the other three Vedas. The *Ṛg Veda bhāṣya* contains some interesting details about its authorship. In the introductory verses of that book it is said that Bukka I asked Mādhavācārya to write a commentary on the Ṛg Veda ; but the colophon at the end of each *anuvāka* specifically states that the work was written by Sāyaṇācārya. It is difficult to explain this apparent contradiction, but it becomes clear when the introductory verses and colophons of this work are compared with those of the *Puruṣārtha sudhānidhi* and *Yajurveda bhāṣya*. In the introductory verses of these two works it is said that king Bukka asked Mādhavācārya to compose the treatises, but he told the king that his brother Sāyaṇa was proficient in those subjects, and consequently Bukka asked Sāyaṇa to compose the works.[55] Thus Sāyaṇa was the author of the works and he wrote them at the command of Bukka who was induced by Mādhava to ask Sāyaṇa to write them. In the case of the *Ṛg Veda bhāṣya* also Sāyaṇa must have been asked by Bukka to write the commentary at the suggestion of Mādhava. It is apparent that the suggestion of Mādhava that the work may be entrusted to Sāyaṇa has been omitted by mistake by either the

49. Benares Edn.
50. Calcutta, 1892.
51. Ānandāśrama Series.
52. Calcutta, 1903.
53. Bombay, 1895.
54. Max Muller's Edn.
55. See the *Dhātuvṛtti* edited by the Mysore Govt. Or. Lib., where the quotation is given; see also *Taittirīyasamhitā bhāṣya*, introductory verses.

copyists or editors of the work.[56] That the term *Mādhavīyam* at the end of a work does not necessarily mean that it was a work by Mādhava becomes evident from the following. In the colophons at the end of a few works of Mādhava himself it is stated that the *Mādhavīyaṁ* was written by Mādhava. In the colophons at the end of *Parāśaramādhavīyam* for instance it is said: *Iti śrī...... Mādhavāmātyasya kṛtāyām Parāśara smṛti vyākhyāyām Mādhavīyāyām Prathamo adhyāyaḥ.*" In the first part of the *Dhātuvṛtti* Sāyaṇa says that he wrote it under the name of *Mādhavīya* and refers to it again in the second part of his work.[57] This statement gives the lie direct to the view that Mādhava is meant as author by the term *Mādhavīyam*. Further the *Dhātuvṛtti* was written by Sāyaṇa when he was in the court of Saṅgama II while Mādhavācārya was in the court of Bukka I. It is difficult to imagine how the two could have collaborated in the production of that work.

It has been suggested by a few scholars that these works were written not by Sāyaṇa alone but by a school founded by Mādhava and Sāyaṇa. Macdonell says: "Sāyaṇa's com-

56. Shankar Pandurang Pandit who with the help of Narasimhaiyangar of Mysore came into the possession of a commentary of the Atharva Veda by Sāyaṇa thinks that Sāyaṇa and Mādhava were one and the same person. He says: "From the introductory verses, when taken with the opening of the commentary on the Ṛg Veda it would appear that Sāyaṇa and Mādhava are one and the same person. For according to the present commentary, Harihara commanded Sāyaṇācārya to compose and it is Sāyaṇācārya that composes the commentary; and the author farther on says that he proceeds therefore to write his commentary, having already written his commentaries on the other three Vedas. In Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛg Veda it is Bukka who commands Mādhavācārya to explain the Ṛg Veda, and it is that Mādhavācārya who composes the commentary. The question therefore whether Mādhava and Sāyana were one and the same person, or as has been supposed by some, different individuals, may be said to be set at rest by the commentary now found." (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 200). But as said above it was not Mādhava that wrote the commentary on the Ṛg Veda but only Sāyaṇa. S. P. Pandit's identification of Mādhava with Sāyaṇa is due to an imperfect understanding of the term *Mādhavīyam* used in the colophons of the commentaries. Further that Mādhava was different from Sāyaṇa and that he was his elder brother is shown by Sāyana's own references to him. That the commentary on the Ṛg Veda was written by Sāyaṇa and not by Mādhava is clearly shown in the words of Sāyana himself, who says in his *Vaṁśa-brāhmaṇa bhāṣya* that he had commented upon the Ṛg Veda.

57. Mys. Or. Lib. Edn. of *Dhātuvṛtti*, p. 32, referred to in *I.H.Q.*, VI, pp. 707-708.

ments on the two samhitās would appear to have been only partially composed by himself and to have been completed by his pupils."[58] Aufrecht also remarks: "There can be very little doubt, and a thorough examination of all parts enables us to prove, that Sāyaṇa's comments on the Ṛg Veda and *Taittirīya saṁhitā* were only partially done by himself and carried on by his school. The interpretation of the *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*, *Taittirīyāraṇyaka*, and the *Aitareyāraṇyaka* shows a want of discretion which can only be explained on the supposition that their authorship belongs to a different author."[59] It is possible that there is some truth in this suggestion. There are inconsistencies and inaccuracies in Sāyaṇa's *Vedabhāṣya* which, if it had been written by him, could not have occurred.[60]

The surmise of Macdonell and Aufrecht is strengthened by a few epigraphs which mention a few persons who were honoured by the king for their services to the cause of learning by being the promoters of the commentaries of the Vedas. The *inām* office copper plate grant of Harihara II (A.D. 1386) records the grant of lands made to three persons who were the promoters of the commentaries of the Vedas in lieu of money grants already made to them. Even to this day there are three families that receive special honours from the Śṛṅgēri maṭha. The donees in the *inām* office grant were perhaps the progenitors of these three families.[61] The date of the record is however not above suspicion, since it refers to Vidyāraṇya as living after the date on which he appears to have died. The Bacahaḷḷi plates of Harihara II (A.D. 1377) also mention two scholars who were the promoters of the commentaries of the Vedas.[62] Since these scholars are said to have been the promoters of the commentaries when Sāyaṇa wrote them at the bidding of Bukka, and since the scholars were honoured

58. *Hist. of Sans. Lit.*, p. 275.

59. *Catalogus Catalagorum*, p. 711.

60. Rama Rao explains away this point by remarking that Sāyana depended on the traditional interpretation of the Vedas and the *Brāhmanas* such as that of Yāska to whom reference is frequently made in the course of the works, and also the explanation offered to him by scholars who were his contemporaries. (*I. H. Q.*, VI, p. 708). But it may be asked why, if the work had been by Sāyaṇa alone, he did not correct the traditional interpretations which were incorrect and inconsistent ?

61. See *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, para 54.

62. *M.A.R.*, 1915, paras 88-89.

by Harihara, it is reasonable to take the view that Sāyaṇa was assisted by a band of scholars in his work though there is no direct evidence to show that the different portions of the *Vedabhāṣya* were written by different scholars under the general editorship of Sāyaṇa.

According to Aufrecht Sāyaṇa died in A.D. 1377.

Bhōganātha :

Mādhavācārya had another brother Bhōganātha by name. About him however not much is known. In the Bitraguṇṭa grant of Saṅgama II of which he was the author he styles himself the *narmasaciva* or boon companion of Saṅgama II. His *guru* was Śrīkaṇṭha. From the *Alaṅkāra sudhānidhi* of Sāyaṇa we learn that Bhōganātha was the author of the following works: *Rāmollāsa*, *Tripuravijaya*, *Udāharaṇamālā*, *Mahāgaṇapatistava*, *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*, and *Gaurīnāthāṣṭaka*. The first two works appear to be *kāvyas* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*. Sāyaṇa had very great regard for his brother Bhōganātha and in one place says, speaking about certain rules, 'examples of the rules have to be sought for in Bhōganātha's works.'[63] Thus he also appears to have been a great scholar.

Cauṇḍa Mādhava :

Contemporaneous with the Mādhava brothers was another Mādhava, who belonged to the Āṅgīrasa gotra and was the son of Cauṇḍapa. He was a follower of the Pāśupata school of Śaivism and had for his *guru* Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita. This Mādhava was the minister of Mārappa, the brother of Harihara, and was in charge of the Banavāse country. He 'cleared and made plain the ruined path of the *Upaniṣads* which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents, the proud advocates of evil doctrines,' and was hence called the *guru* 'who established the path of the *Upaniṣads*.' He was the author of the work *Tātparya Dīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sūtasaṁhitā*.[64]

The minister of Harihara II, Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, born in the family of Baicaya Daṇḍēśa, was a great Sanskrit scholar. He wrote the *Nānārtharatnamālā*, a Lexicon. Virūpākṣa also known as Udayagiri Virūpaṇṇa, a son of Harihara II, was a good scholar and a master of various arts. He was the author of the *Nārāyaṇī*-

63. *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 24.
64. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 51-2.

vilāśam, a Sanskrit drama.[65] Narahari, a disciple of Vidyāraṇya, has written the *Naiṣadha dīpikā* a commentary on the *Naiṣadha*.[66] In the court of Bukka II flourished Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita, the author of the medical work *Vaidyarāja vallabha*.

Gaṅgādēvī:

Among the eminent women writers of the time the first place has to be given to Gaṅgādēvī, the wife of Kampaṇa (the son of Bukka), who conquered the Cōḻamaṇḍalam for the Vijayanagar empire. In her work the *Madhurāvijayam* she describes the conquest of Madura by her husband. She has adopted the *mahākāvya* style for her work. It contains lengthy descriptions of the seasons, of the twilight and other aspects of nature. "The authoress writes in the Vaidarbhī style and her thoughts flow with ease and simplicity. Her diction is beautiful and charming and her similes are grand and drawn from nature. She has none of the pedantry of grammar and rhetoric which so largely spoils the productions of latter day poets." She has largely followed Kāḷidāsa, but has transformed his scenes and descriptions " at the mint of her imagination and invested them with new significance."[67]

Fifteenth Century Poets:

Dēva Rāya II, besides being himself a good scholar, was a patron of scholars in different languages. He appears to have been the author of the *Ratiratnadīpikā* and the *Brahmasūtravṛtti* a gloss on the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, following the Advaita of Śaṅkara.[67a] Gōpa Tippa, the grandson of Harimā, a sister of Dēva Rāya II, also flourished in the same period. He was a great Sanskrit scholar. He was the commentator of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra kāmadhenu*.[68] He was also the author of *Tāla dīpikā* a work on music devoted to the determination of the different ways of keeping time besides a work on dancing.[69]

Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was a good Sanskrit scholar. Generally he has been credited with the authorship of the *Rāmābhyuda-*

65. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 53.
66. *India Office Catalogue*, Pt. VII, 3832.
67. *Madhurāvijayam, Intro.*, pp. iv-v.
67a. *Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Volume*, p. 397.
68. *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 77.
69. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 63 *T. C. of Mss. of the M.O.M.L.* I. 1, No. 770, pp. 1015-16.

yam. The Diṇḍima family which has produced many literary celebrities came into prominence under Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. Rājanātha Diṇḍima, the author of the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*, was his court poet. This historical poem is written in the *kāvya* style. Diṇḍima Sārvabhauma, his son, appears to have been the real author of the *Rāmābhyudayam*. The colophon at the end of the fifth canto of the work shows that the poem was written by one Sōṇādrinātha, also called Diṇḍima Sārvabhauma, son of Abhirāmā and Rājanātha.[70] One Aruṇagirinātha is the author of the farce called *Somavallīyogānandaprahasana* and a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Saundaryalaharī*.[71]

Sixteenth Century Poets:

The reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya marks a glorious epoch in the literary history of South India, when there flourished in his court scholars in Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, besides being a patron of scholars, was himself a gifted scholar not only in Telugu but also in Sanskrit. Before he began to write his masterpiece in Telugu, the *Āmuktamālyada*, he wrote Sanskrit works like *Madālasācaritra*, *Satyavadhū preṇanam*, *Sakalakathāsāra saṁgraham*, *Śuktinaipuni jñānacintā maṇi* and *Rasamañjarī*. He was also the author of the Sanskrit drama known as *Jāmbavatīkalyāṇam* which was enacted before the people assembled to witness the *Caitra* (spring) festival of Śrī Virūpākṣa, the tutelary deity of the Karnāṭaka empire, residing on the top of the mountain Hemakūṭa in the city of Vijayanagar.

It was during this period that the great *Dvaita* philosopher Vyāsarāya lived. He was a great scholar and as said in an earlier section was patronised by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.

Sāḷuva Timma, the Prime Minister of the king, was the author of a work known as the *Bāla Bhārata Vyākhyā*, a commentary on Agastya's *Bāla Bhārata*. In the colophon to the work he calls himself *Pradhāna sakalāgama pārāvāra daṇḍanāyaka*. Gōpa, the nephew of Sāḷuva Timma, was the author of a work called *Candrikā*, a commentary on Kṛṣṇamiśra's famous drama *Prabodhacandrodaya*. He was also the author of the *Kṛṣṇārjunasamvādamu*, a

70. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 85.

71. *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 79; 1912 para 72. In an extract of this work published by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Arunagirinātha calls himself the nephew through the sister (bhāgineyah) of Sabhāpati (*I.A.*, XLVIII, p. 134).

popular Telugu poem in the dvipada metre. Nādiṇḍla Appa, another nephew of Sāḷuva Timma, was a great patron of literature and to him was dedicated the Telugu work, *Rājaśekharacaritramu*, by Mādayagāri Mallanna.[72]

Lolla Lakṣmīdhara was another eminent scholar and a versatile genius of the time. He was the author of several works bearing on astronomy, astrology, mantraśāstra, the *saddarśanas* and law. He was also the author of a part of the encyclopaedic work, the *Daivajñavilāsa*.[73] He wrote a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Saundaryalaharī* in which he claims the authorship of the *Sarasvatī vilāsam*, an important work on law generally attributed to Pratāpa Rudra, the ruler of Orissa and a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.

Among the other poets of the period mention may be made of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Sūranna and Haribhaṭṭa. The first among them was the author of the *Saṅgīta sūryodaya*, a work on music dedicated to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. Sūranna (not to be confounded with Piṅgaḷi Sūranna) wrote his two books, the *Udayanodaya* and the *Vanamāli vilāsa* (Telugu). But when the former of the two works was still in an unfinished stage he died. Hence his son finished the work and dedicated it to a subordinate of Rāmayāmātya. Haribhaṭṭa was the author of the *Ratirahasya* in Sanskrit and translated into Telugu cantos VI, XI and XII of the *Bhāgavata*. He also wrote the *Uttaranarasiṁhapurāṇa*, *Varāhapurāṇa* and *Matsyapurāṇa* (Telugu).

Acyuta Rāya appears to have been a good scholar like his brother Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. He has been credited with the work called *Tāḷamahodadhi* which was commented by Sōmanātha, a contemporary of his.

During this time Rājanātha Diṇḍima, the author of the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam*, was the court poet. He was in close association with the third Vijayanagar dynasty and hence was able to include in his work some details about the achievements of Narasa, the father of Acyuta. Rājanātha was also the author of the *Bhāgavata Campū*, a work that was dedicated to Acyuta. In the royal court also flourished the poetess Tirumalāmbā who wrote the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* which gives an account of Acyuta's life and closes with the installation of Venkaṭādri as *Yuvarāja*.

72. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 149.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2.

She was an accomplished lady with good literary tastes, and her poem has a simple and chaste style.[74] One Vōdūru Tirumalammā composed a Sanskrit verse (A.D. 1533) to commemorate the gift of a *svarṇameru* by Acyuta Rāya, and the verse is inscribed in the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi. A suggestion has been made that this lady may be identified with Tirumalāmbā the authoress of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam.*[75] A poetess by name Mōhanāṅgi, identified with the wife of Rāma Rāja, is said to be the authoress of the *Mārīcipariṇayam,* a love poem. It has been suggested that this poetess may be the same as Tirumalāmbā the wife of Rāma Rāja and the daughter of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[76] But one cannot be sure if Vōdūru Timmalammā was the same as this Tirumalāmbā.[77] An eminent poet Ēkāmranātha by name lived at the court of Aṅkuśa Rāya, a feudatory of Rāma III in the Seringapatam territory. He was the author of the *Jāmbavatī kalyāṇam* and the *Satyā pariṇayam* both in Sanskrit.[78] Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara was another literary celebrity of the period and he was the author of a large number of works like the *Abhilaṣitārthadāyanī,* a commentary on Jayadēva's *Prasannarāghava,* and dedicated to Siddharāju Timmarāju, a commentary on *Anargha rāghava, Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā,* a grammar on six Prākṛts and a few others. He has also written the *Śrutarañjanī,* a commentary on the *Gītagovinda,* a lyrical drama of Jayadēva. This work however is generally attributed to Tirumala.[79] During this period in the Nāyak court of Jiñji there lived a Sanskrit scholar Ratnakhēṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. He was patronised by Śūrappa Nāyaka. This Dīkṣita wrote a drama *Bhāvanāpuruṣottama* and dedicated it to his patron.[80]

Tātācārya :

Among the literary celebrities that received patronage in the court of Veṅkaṭa the most important was Tātācārya, variously known as Ēṭṭūr Kumāra Tirumala Tātācārya, Lakṣmīkumāra, and Koṭikanyādānam Tātācārya. He was the manager of the Vaiṣṇava

74. 9 of 1904; 708 of 1922, *M.E.R.* 1923. Para. 81; *M.A.R.*, 1920 Para. 38
75. *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 81; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 170, *fn.*
76. Vīreśalingam Pillai, *Lives of Telugu poets,* p. 187.
77. See *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 81.
78. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources,* pp. 227-230 and *Des. Cat. of the books in the Or. Mss. Lib.*, Madras, XX Nos. 11535 and 11816.
79. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources,* pp. 212-13; Hultzsch, *Rep. on Sans. Mss.*, IV, p. 130, No. 2112; *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 196; 1909-10, p. 182.
80. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 272 *fn.*

temples at Kāñcī where he is said to have lived in kingly splendour. He made many grants to the Vaiṣṇava temples at Kāñcī and he even dug a tank there which came to be known as Tātasamudram after him.[81] Tātācārya was the author of a philosophical work known as *Sātvika Brahma Vidyā Vilāsa*. He also wrote a work called the *Pāṇḍuraṅgamāhātmya* devoted to the Viṣṇu temple at Pandharpur in the present Bombay Presidency. He had great influence over Veṅkaṭa. According to the *Prapannāmṛtam*, Veṅkaṭa entrusted the whole kingdom to Tātācārya and himself led a life of retirement.[82] Whether this statement is true or not, his influence at the court of the emperor was very great. This adversely affected the fortunes of the Jesuit Fathers at Veṅkaṭa's court for which they bore a grudge against him. Their malice against Tātācārya was exhibited in one of the letters which Father Coutinho wrote. He says that Tātācārya was " unworthy of the post because of his vices." He observes the teacher was lacking in continence as he had many wives at home, and he was one of those " who swallow camels and shy at mosquitoes."[83] But in fairness to Tātācārya it must be said that he was not a *sanyasin* as the Jesuit Father appears to have considered him, but only a householder who was allowed to marry and yet was not prevented from being a *guru*. Heras too accuses Tātācārya of incontinence and belittles his purity of character evidently on slender grounds. As said earlier he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava and was largely responsible for the spread of Vaiṣṇavism during his time ; but it seems his views on religion were narrow and evidently he could not tolerate opposition to his views, and if tradition can be believed, he plotted the assassination of his contemporary, the great Advaita teacher Appayya Dīkṣita, who narrowly escaped falling a victim to the plot.

Appayya Dīkṣita :

Appayya Dīkṣita was a son of Raṅgarāja Dīkṣita of Aḍayapalam, a village in the present North Arcot district. Even at the age of twelve Appayya Dīkṣita had gained complete knowledge of the Vedas and many abstruse and philosophical sciences. He was a great genius and his scholarship was not only very wide but also very deep. As a philosopher he was a follower of Śrīkaṇṭha. And

81. 354 of 1919; 475 of 1919; 649 and 650 of 1919 ; Cp. 8, Ap. A. of *M.E.R.*, 1916-17 and *Cat. of C. P. Grants in the Mad. Govt. Mus.*, No. 54.
82. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.
83. See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 305-06.

he is even called *Śrīkaṇṭhamata pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* (establisher of Śrīkaṇṭha's school of philosophy).

He was a polyhistor and is credited with the authorship of 104 works. His *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* is a commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's *Śaiva Bhāṣya.* The work shows that he had a thorough knowledge of Mīmāmsā, Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya, Alaṅkāra, practically the whole field of Sanskrit literature. In it he fights to the best of his ability against his own Advaitic leanings and conviction and tries to demolish the Advaitic doctrine and establish *Śivādvaita.* But his *Parimala,* which is an illuminating work, is important for its powerful advocacy of *Advaita.* In his *Śivatattvaviveka* he attempts to make Śiva the lord of the Universe. As a great scholar in rhetoric he wrote three works on the subject, namely the *Kuvalayānanda, Citramīmāmsā* and *Vṛttivārtikam.* He was also the author of the *Caturmatasāra* containing four sections each devoted to a system of philosophy, namely *Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Śivādvaita* and *Dvaita.*[84] He also wrote on grammar. In his *Rāmāyaṇa tātparya saṅgraha* and the *Mahābhārata tātparya saṅgraha* he has attempted to establish that the *Itihāsas* have propounded Śiva as the lord of the Universe. Thus he was really a *sarvatantra svatantra,* which epithet he himself interprets in his commentary on the *Yādavābhyudayam* as meaning "one who can, according to his pleasure, prove or disprove any system of religion or philosophy."[85]

The true Advaitin that he was, he made no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu. Though in the *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* the Dīkṣita tries to maintain the supremacy of Śiva, his equal reverence for Viṣṇu is seen in his work *Varadarājastava* in praise of Varadarāja of Kāñcī, and *Kṛṣṇa Dhyāna Paddhati* in praise of Kṛṣṇa. His devotion to Kṛṣṇa is seen also from his commentary on the *Yādavābhyudayam.* In his *Śivatattvaviveka* he tries to prove the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu. His *Caturmatasāra* is written from the angles of vision of the schools of Śrī Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva and Śrīkaṇṭha. The great Dīkṣita himself says that he made no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu.[86] It is said he composed a hundred verses in praise of Naṭarāja and Gōvindarāja at Cidambaram.[87]

84. *Rep. on Sans. Mss.* by Dr. Hultzsch, II, Nos. 1038 and 1510; see also *M.E.R.*, 1912, para 71.

85. *Yādavābhyudayam,* II, p. xxvi.

86. He says:
Viṣṇurvā Śaṅkaro vā śrutiśikhara girāmastu tātparya bhūmiḥ |
Nāsmākam tatra vādaḥ prasarati kimapi spaṣṭam advaita bhājām ||

87. See *Appayya Dīkṣitendravijayaḥ* by K. V. Subrahmanya Sastrigal with a foreword by K. S. Ramaswami Sastriar.

Appayya Dīkṣita, though a *sarvatantra svatantra* and an Advaitin, was largely a follower of Śrīkaṇṭha's philosophy. According to an inscription of 1582-83 engraved in the Kāḷakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Aḍayapalam, he raised the *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya* from obscurity to establish the superiority of Śiva. The object of his writing the *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* was to teach the *Śrikaṇṭhabhāṣya* to five hundred pupils.[88]

As said earlier Appayya Dīkṣita was patronised by Veṅkaṭa though the latter was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. The Dīkṣita wrote his *Kuvalayānanda* at the request of the emperor.[89]

This great scholar was a protege of Chinna Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr, who according to a verse in a poem of an unknown author bathed him in gold (*kanakābhiṣekam*).[90] According to the inscription at the place of his birth he raised Cinna Bommu Nāyaka from his petty position to the status of a famous ruler and induced him to make grants of gold and *agrahāra* villages to the 500 learned men who were to study under him at Aḍayapalam.[91] Appayya Dīkṣita frequented the court of the Nāyak of Tanjore and was greatly honoured by him.[92]

Vādirāja :

Vādirāja who lived in the sixteenth century was an illustrious successor of Vyāsarāya. He was an eminent scholar and controversialist belonging to the *Dvaita* school of philosophy. He is credited with more than sixty works of which about twenty are important. Among them mention may be made of *Vivarṇavraṇam*, *Pāṣaṇḍakhaṇḍanam*, and *Nyāyaratnāvali*. The *Yuktimallikā*, a work elaborating the teachings of the *Brahmasūtras* as deduced by Madhva, is the most important of his works.[93]

In the Tamil country there flourished at the time many scholars and philosopher poets who wrote many highly interesting

88. 395 of 1911.
89. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.
90. *Ibid.*
91. 395 of 1911.
92. *M.A.R.*, 1917 paras 135-36; see for a descriptive account of the life of Appayya Dīkṣita *J. O. R.*, 1929-30, two articles by Y. Mahālinga Śāstri; *Yādavābhyudayam*, Vol. II, pp. 1-32.
93. See The *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 197-211 for an account of Vādirāja's life by B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma. For his date see *A.B.O.R.I.*, XVIII, ii, p. 194; *contra* see *Intro.* to the third volume of the Southern Recension of the *Mahābhārata* by P. P. S. Śāstri.

and valuable works. One of them was Sudhīndra Tīrtha of the Sumatīndra maṭha. He was a great scholar and travelled all over the country controverting the teachings of the other religions. He is said to have conquered all his opponents at the court of Veṅkaṭa, and was honoured by the emperor by the presentation of the conch and other emblems of victory. He lived at the town of Kumbakōṇam on the banks of the Kāvērī and was honoured by Raghunātha of Tanjore with *kanakābhiṣekam.* Rāghavēndra Tīrtha who succeeded Sudhīndra Tīrtha in the apostolic line was also a great scholar. Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, the son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita, the minister of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore had very great regard for the Madhva teacher. Rāghavēndra came out successful in a philosophical disputation about *Kākatālīya* with some great scholars and Yajñanārāyaṇa admired him greatly for this.[94]

Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore was a notable scholar both in *Sāhitya* (literary art) and *Saṅgīta* (music) and was a good poet in Sanskrit and in vernacular (*bhāṣā* and Telugu). He wrote about 100 works.[95] Among them were the *Pārijātāpaharaṇam*, *Vālmīkicaritram*, *Acyutendrābhyudayam*, *Gajendramokṣam* *Nalacaritram*, and *Rukmaṇīkṛṣṇavivāhayakṣagānam*.[96]

The *Pārijātāpaharaṇam*, dealing with the life of Kṛṣṇa was written by the royal author at the direction of his father who asked him to compose a poem dealing with the life of Kṛṣṇa, for it is only by such literary compositions that one could become immortal. It is said that Raghunātha wrote the work within a short period of two *yāmas* (six hours) and that the scribes wrote it down with great difficulty as he dictated his poem very rapidly. The father was immensely pleased with the performance of his son and bathed him in gold and precious stones.[97] Raghunātha was proficient in music. In his *Saṅgītasudhā* he says that he had invented new *rāgas* like *Jayantasena* and new *tāḷas* like *Rāmānanda*.[98]

Raghunātha's minister Gōvinda Dīkṣita was also a great scholar. He was a great authority on the *Advaita Vedānta* and on the six *darśanas*.[99] He wrote a poem entitled *Sāhityasudhā*.[100]

94. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 252-53.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
96. *Ibid*, p. 269.
97. *Ibid*, p. 270.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
100. *Ibid.*

Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita has been credited with having commented upon many *Śulba Sūtras*. He was the author of the well-known *Sāhityaratnākara* dealing with the life, achievements and times of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.[101]

Rāmabhadrāmbā, a talented authoress, who lived in the court of Ragunātha, wrote the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, another work dealing with the life and achievements of Raghunātha. She was able to write four sorts of poetry in all the eight languages (Sanskrit, Telugu and the six prākṛts). She is said to have been the empress among poets.[102] Madhuravāṇi was another poetess in the court of Raghunātha.

Hultzsch mentions a Dīkṣita who wrote the *Vedānta paribhāṣā* and a Dharmaśūri who was the author of a dramatic work called *Narakadhvamsa Vyāyōga*.[102a]

SECTION III

Telugu

As already stated, the Vijayanagar period was an age of Telugu renaissance. Great encouragement was given to Telugu and Telugu literary celebrities; and with the fall of the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan as a result of the Muhammadan attacks and invasions, the learned men of the east coast of Telingana flooded the Vijayanagar court and were received with great cordiality.

Nācana Sōmanātha Kavi :

Among the Telugu scholars of the period mention may first be made of Nācana Sōmanātha Kavi, a court poet of Bukka I. Probably dissatisfied with the translation of the *Harivaṁśam* by Eṟrapraggaḍa, he wrote a poem called *Uttaraharivilāsam*, using the Sanskrit *Harivilāsam* as the basis of his work. In his work he employs a flowery style. The work is full of five graces and pregnant with sense. In every way his translation is better than that of Eṟrapraggaḍa. Bukka granted him the village of Pencukaladinne which was named Bukkarāyapaṭnam. The epigraph which records the grant says that the poet was proficient in eight languages.[103]

101. *Ibid.*, pp. 253 and 259.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
102a. V. R., *I.M.P.*, I, No. 347.
103. *E.C.*, X, Gd. 46; *M.E.R.*, 1907, para 53.

Śrīnātha :

Śrīnātha, who lived in the latter half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth, was a poet of exceptional parts and had easy command over both Telugu and Sanskrit. He was the court poet of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīdu and paid frequent visits to the Vijayanagar court. Even when he was only in his teens he composed the *Maruttarātcaritram*, and the *Śālivāhanasaptati;* and when he grew of age he translated the *Naiṣadham* of Śrī Harṣa and gave it to the world as his *magnum opus.* This Telugu *Naiṣadham* of Śrīnātha is considered to be a standard work for the Telugu scholar and finds an honourable place among the *pañcamahākāvyas* of the Telugu literature. It is a work of eight cantos containing in all 1337 stanzas. The author says that he has paid 'due regard to delicate and choice expression and meaning, the far-reaching idea, interest and emotion, figure of speech and aptness to the context, and carefully avoided all errors of inapt or wrong expressions.' "Full of sonorous and sweet *samāsas*, the poem has the complicated symphony of an orchestra. Verses full of sibilant sweetness and labial liquidity abound. Descriptions of women are vivid, delicate and artistic. Lines linger in the memory like forgotten music. The book deserves all the praise that has been bestowed on it."[104] Śrīnātha wrote a large number of other works among which may be mentioned the *Kāśikhāṇḍam* and the *Vīdhināṭakam*. The former is a Śaiva work, and the theme for it is taken from the *Skānda Purāṇa*. Though it is not a regular translation of the Sanskrit work it is a detailed Telugu account of the original. In the *Vīdhināṭakam* Śrīnātha describes women of various communities and incidentally throws a flood of light on the social customs of the age. He attempts in this work an account of the familiar scenes of every day life. The *Harivilāsam* of Śrīnātha is a Śaiva work in seven cantos dealing with Śiva and his doings. For the materials in this work he was indebted to Kāḷidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* and Bāna's *Kādambarī*. The book was dedicated to Tippaya Śeṭṭi, a millionaire who had large trade relations with foreign countries. The *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* for which the materials were taken from the *Iśānasaṁhitā* of the *Skānda Purāṇa* is yet another of his works. In all his works Śrīnātha created a style for himself which was imitated by later writers. It is said that at the court of Dēva Rāya II he defeated the Gauḍa poet Diṇḍima Bhaṭṭa in a controversy, and hence the bell metal gong (*kañcuḍhakka*) of the latter was broken and

104. Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao, *A History of Telugu Literature*, p. 61.

Śrīnātha was dubbed *Kavisārvabhauma* or *Kaviratna* (best among poets).

Fifteenth Century Poets:

Śāradā was a gifted poetess of the court of Dēva Rāya II. She wrote eighteen dramas and two prākṛt works.[105] Another contemporary of Dēva Rāya II was one Jakkanna, a Telugu poet who wrote the *Vikramārkacaritram* and dedicated it to Siddhanamantri said to be a minister of Dēva Rāya.[106] Pīna Vīrabhadra a poet who flourished in the days of the Sāḷuvas was the author of the *Jaimini Bhāratamu* which he dedicated to Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.

During the time of Narasā Nāyaka lived the two poets Nandi Mallayya and Ghaṇṭa Siṅgayya, who wrote in a narrative form the story of the Sanskrit drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra. Their joint work the *Varāha Purāṇam* was dedicated to Narasā Nāyaka. They were also the joint authors of two other poems, the *Varalakṣmī Purāṇam* and the *Narasiṁha Purāṇam*, which also they dedicated to Narasā Nāyaka.

Aṣṭadiggajas:

The reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was the Augustan age of Telugu literature. The emperor himself was known as *uru kavi vaibhava-nivaha nidhāna*, "the cause for the highly prosperous condition of great poets."[107] Tradition affirms that in his court flourished the *aṣṭadiggajas*—the eight great poets. The poet laureates who are included in this list are Allasāni Peddana, Nandi Timmanna, Ayyala Rāju, Rāmabhadriah, Dhūrjaṭi, Mādayagāri Mallanna, Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, Piṅgaḷi Sūranna, and Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa. Though it is doubtful if the last two poets lived in Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's time yet it appears to be certain that the rest flourished in his court and dedicated their works either to the emperor himself or to one or other of his subordinates.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was himself the author of important Telugu works. Among them mention must first be made of the *Āmukta-mālyada*, a work written and dedicated to God Veṅkaṭēśa of Tirupati. The emperor while explaining why he chose the Telugu

105. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, *Rāmābhyudayam*; for this and a few other references I am indebted to M. Ramakrishna Kavi, formerly of the Madras University.

106. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 63-64.

107. *M.E.R.*, Cp. 7 and 8 of 1914-15; *Rep.*, 1915, para 48; *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 185.

language for writing out the poem says: "Telugu is the language of the poem for that is the country; to them I am the king, and praised by all is that language. Among the languages of the land Telugu is the best." The work describes the story of Periyāḻvār or Viṣṇucitta, the sixth Āḻvar, who is said to have converted the Madura king to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava faith. It also describes the marriage of his adopted daughter Śuḍikoḍutta nācciyār to God Śrī Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam.

The *Āmuktamālyada* is one of the five great *kāvyams* in the Telugu language, and is considered to be the most difficult of them. Though the language used in the work is conventional yet the form of expression is entirely original. The construction of his sentences appears to be involved. "His style wants perspicuity (to import a western ideal) but is highly admired in India as an example of *nārikela pākam* (cocoanut-like form of expression), and its outer form (shell) of words has to be broken to get the sweet pulp within." Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya shows himself essentially a poet of nature. "His description of the seasons, of the moon and the dawn, of the details of life such as of the leafy stuffs prepared and eaten with gingelly oil and coarse grains of boiled ariga (a cereal grain), of earthern showels in which the manure of goats was lit up to give heat to Reḍḍis in the rainy weather, the echoes, coming even at midnight from the roof of Viṣṇucitta respectfully beckoning his never-ending tide of guests to a poorly hospitality—(really rich)—which he prefaced with apologies like curry was not plentyful, the victuals were cold, no sweets could be procured and the dinner not rich as befitted such guests—his knowledge and experiences of polity, which only a great ruler and conqueror like him could depict give an originality to his thoughts and make him a nature poet *par excellence*."

The authorship of the *Āmuktamālyada* is attributed by a few scholars to Peddana.[108] But the differences in style between the *Manucarita* of Peddana and the *Āmuktamālyada* show that the authors of the two works must have been different persons. The style of the former is simple, easy flowing and musical while that of the *Āmuktamālyada* is very involved, though it is not wanting in elegance. Peddana freely uses in his work Sanskrit and foreign words, while the *Āmuktamālyada* does not contain so many foreign words. Strict rules of grammar are not adhered to in the latter work, a feature unknown to Peddana's work. Further the verses in the

108. Wilson, *Mac. Mss.*, p. 281.

Āmuktamālyada that describe the deeds and conquests of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya are borrowed from the works of his contemporary Peddana, and this literary plagiarism could not have been committed by any ordinary author. Since the author of the work under consideration was a prince and since Peddana was his favourite court poet, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya could have taken some privilege in that matter. The colophons in the *Āmuktamālyada* are in verse and not in prose as are those in the *Manucarita*. These considerations weigh much against the view that the work was written by Peddana.[109]

Allasāni Peddana

Among the group of poets commonly known as the *aṣṭadiggajas*, the most important was Allasāni Peddana. Born in the village of Doranala in the Dupad taluk in the Bellary district he slowly rose to the position of the poet laureate in the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. His eminence as a poet and his influence in the royal court of Vijayanagar "made him an autocrat in the world of letters." His most important work is the *Svārociṣa Manucarita*, being an episode from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and written in six *āśvāsas*. The work is an ideal *prabandham* containing the required eighteen kinds of descriptions such as of a city, the sea, the mountains, the seasons, the sunrise, the rise of the moon, a pleasure garden, a pleasant tank, recreations, a marriage, the birth of a child, a journey, war, gambling, the separation of lovers and the like. Peddana got the material for his work from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, but he has taken liberties with it, and diverged from the original and used his own imagination and creative genius in presenting a story which satisfies the reader. The author's indebtedness to earlier poets, like Śrīnātha, and contemporaries like Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya are discernible. *The Manucarita* illustrates what we may call 'eclecticism in composition ', a very noticeable feature of latter day poetry.[110] The work is full of imagery and wonderful descriptions of nature, and contains a large number of Muhammadan and other foreign words. Peddana's work also abounds with long Sanskrit compounds. He was followed in this method of writing poetry by many poets and hence he came to be called *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha*, the creator of Telugu poetry. He was a great favourite of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, and tradition has it that wherever Kṛṣṇa Rāya saw him he took him on his

109. See for a discussion on the *Āmuktamālyada*, *A Historical Sketch of Telugu Literature*, by T. Rajagopala Rao, pp. 82-84; *Mys. Gaz.*, II, Pt. iii, pp. 1920-1922.

110. See Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

elephant and showed great regard and respect for him. He was the recipient of grants of land from his royal patron.[111]

Nandi Timmanna :

The next important poet was Timmanna. He wrote the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* in Telugu and dedicated it to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. The work deals with the procuring of the divine pārijāta plant by Śrī Kṛṣṇa from the garden of Indra to please his consort, Satyabhāmā. According to tradition the work was written by the author to restore queen Cinnādēvī to king Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's favour, for according to the account, she had fallen from his favour as she had accidentally kicked him while he was asleep. *The Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* is a model of good poetry. The style of the work is easy and smooth flowing, the diction is elegant and "the images and similes are bold and striking." Unlike others the author avoids the profuse use of Sanskrit words in his work. Timmanna is generally known as Mukku Timmanna, perhaps on account of his long and bold nose, or on account of the excellent description which according to tradition he gives of a nose in a verse which Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa is said to have incorporated in his *Vasucaritramu*.

Dhūrjaṭi :

Dhūrjaṭi was another eminent Telugu poet who flourished at Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's court. He was a staunch Saiva. This is proved by his *Kāḷahasti Māhātmyam* and *Kālahastīśvara Satakam*. These two works were written by the author in praise of the God at Kāḷahasti and dedicated to Śiva. The former is a Telugu poetical work of a very high order. Dhūrjaṭi took his material from the *Ṣaḍadhyāya* in Sanskrit but he greatly improved upon his material. The style of his work is elegant and chaste. His thoughts are levelled at a high pitch. But he does not adhere strictly to the rules of grammar and freely uses Tamil and Kanarese words in his work.

Piṅgaḷi Sūranna :

Piṅgaḷi Sūranna was another great poet of the age. He appears to have lived till the close of the sixteenth century and he was patronised by the Nandyāla chief Kṛṣṇa Rāja, who, we learn from an epigraph of A.D. 1571, had a son Veṅkaṭādri Rāja.[112] He was one of the very few who used homely language tuned to a melodious sweet musical diction. He was the author of *Kalāpūrṇodayamu* which deals with a story narrated by Brahmā to his wife

111. 623 of 1915, *Rep.*, 1916, para 66; 105 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1921, para 50.
112. 699 of 1917.

Sarasvati's parrot, every word of which was applicable to her. His *Rāghavapāṇḍavīyamu* is a *dvayārtha kāvya*, and is the first of its kind in the extant Telugu literature. Some of his words have two meanings and the compounds which he has used, when split, give two different senses. It is one of the five Telugu *mahākāvyas* and was dedicated to Ākuvīṭi Veṅkaṭādri. He was also the author of *Prabhāvati Pradhyumnam,* which he dedicated to his father Amarayya. It is a work in five cantos and has a balanced style. The works of Sūranna abound in figures of speech, and the author attains perfection in his creative imagination. His characters are not types, but individuals. In their characterisation "Sūranna exhibits a living world with all its subtle shades of difference."[113] He appears to have lived to a ripe old age, and to have been a contemporary of Tirumala I also.

Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa :

Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa was the son of Rāmayya. It appears he was first known as Rāmalinga, and afterwards, when he changed his faith to Vaiṣṇavism, came to be known as Rāmakṛṣṇa. He appears to have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and it is said he was one of the *aṣṭadiggajas*. It is highly doubtful if he could have been a contemporary of Tātācārya and Appayya Dīkṣita who lived during the time of Śrī Raṅga and Veṅkaṭa II. According to a horoscope of his, he was born in A.D. 1462 and Kāvali Venkaṭarāmasvāmi accepts the date. But it is difficult to say how far this horoscope is genuine. His earliest poem *Udbhaṭārādhya Caritramu* was dedicated to Nādiṇḍla Gōpa, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's governor of Koṇḍavīḍu. This evidence is alone enough to fix the date and period of Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa. He is credited with the authorship of *Liṅgapurāṇamu.* The *Pāṇḍuraṅga Māhātmyamu*, another of his works, has great literary merit. It is said that it was dedicated to one Vinuri Vēdādri. Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa was also the author of a work called the *Ghaṭikācala Māhātmyamu*, a work of great interest. There are many stories and traditions current about the vagaries of this Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi. He appears to have been a successful jesting poet and cracked his jokes with great impunity not only with a Tātācārya who appears to have been a contemporary of his but also with the emperor.[114] The stories that are widely current about him show that he was a very popular poet of the period.

113. T. Rajagopala Rao, *Hist. Sketch of Telugu Lit.*, p. 115.

114. See Some discursive remarks on the Augustan Age of Telugu Literature, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, pp. 324-26.

Among the other poets who lived in the period was one Kōnēru-nātha, the poet who was the author of the *Bāla Bhāgavatamu*, a Telugu work dedicated to Cinna Timma Rāja, the younger brother of Viṭṭhala who led a campaign against the ruler of Travancore. Cinna Timma is described as the kṛtināyakuṇḍu. The work deals with the story of the *Bhāgavata* in a simple and popular style.[115] Siddharāju Timmarāju Bhūpāla, a nephew of Tirumala I, was the author of the *Paramayogivilāsamu*, a Telugu work dealing with the lives of the Āḻvārs.[116]

Rāmabhadraiah :

In the latter half of the sixteenth century flourished such poets as Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadraiah and Rāma Rāja Bhūṣana. Rāma-bhadraiah flourished about 1570 and wrote the *Rāmābhyudayam* in Telugu. It is the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *prabandha* style which was adopted to produce effect. It is said that according to a competition he had with Rāma Rāja Bhūṣana, the author of the *Vasucaritramu*, he undertook to write within a period of six months a work which would be better than that of the latter. He did not even begin his work till the last day, but on the night of that day god Śrī Rāma wrote the work for Rāmabhadraiah. The work, though very popular, is not free from certain grammatical flaws.

Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa :

Bhaṭṭu Mūrti or Rāma Rāja Bhūṣana (ornament of Rāma Rāja's court), as he was more familiarly known, was the court poet of Rāma Rāja. He was the author of *Vasucaritramu* dedicated to Tirumala. This work is considered to be a model *Prabandham* for the Telugu language. It is full of rhyme and alliteration "and the stanzas are of enrapturing beauty, many of which bear more than one meaning." It is one of the five *mahākāvyas* of the Telugu literature. The work is full of sublime thought and is very widely read; its erotic character betrays the taste of the times.[117] Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa was also the author of the *Hariścandra, Naḷopākhyāna*, which narrates the story of Hariścandra and Naḷa in one compass. This is also a *dvayārthakāvya* like the *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya* of Piṅgaḷi Sūranna; but the style and language of the work are a little difficult. Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa appears to have written also a third work called *Narasa Bhūpālīyamu*. This work

115. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 204-09.
116. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.
117. See Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, p. 295.

deals with poetics and is an adaptation of the famous *Pratāparudrīyam*, a Sanskrit work of a Vidyānātha Kavi. According to Rajagopala Rao, though "there is a dispute as to the authorship of the *Narasabhūpālīyamu* internal evidence is conclusive in assigning it to Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa."[118] The work is dedicated to Raganti Narasarāju, a nephew and son-in-law of Tirumala.

Vēmana :

Vēmana was another popular poet who lived probably in the sixteenth century. According to some scholars he belonged to the family of Anavēma Reḍḍi, a chief in the Candanūl country. The name he bore appears to have been his personal name, but he never disclosed his family name. Brown thinks that he was a *zangam*, the sect of Śūdras who were seceders from the common religion, worshipped Śiva alone and gave up their family appellation, but were called only by the name of the sect. It was only this creed that appears to have been taught by Vēmana and hence none escaped his satires. Vēmana was a moralist who satirised the vices and follies of men, their blind traditional beliefs, and caste and women. He was socialistic in his views on private property and accumulation of wealth and argued that there should be no private property. From his verses it appears he had a dislike for the Brahmans. He was essentially a poet of rural life.[119]

In the days of Kōdaṇḍarāma there lived the poet Veṅkayya who wrote the *Rāmarājīyamu*, also known as *Narapativijayamu*. He traces the history of the Vijayanagar empire under the Aravīḍu line of kings. Though a late work its historical accuracy has been confirmed not only by contemporary literature but also by the inscriptions of the different periods about which it deals.

SECTION IV

Kannaḍa

In the Vijayanagar period, as in Sanskrit and Telugu so in Kannaḍa, a large number of works were written dealing with different subjects. The authors were either Jain, Vīra Śaiva or Brahmanical in their religion and for their works they invariably drew their materials from their respective religious literature. Be-

118. *A Hist. of Tel. Lit.*, p. 119.
119. Brown, *Verses of Vemana*, intro., pp. i to iv.

sides some works dealing with secular subjects were also written during the period.

In the early Vijayanagar period one Gurudēva wrote a well known Sanskrit work called *Vīra Śaivācāra Pradīpikā*, as he himself says for one Siddhadēva. He was also the author of some *stotras*. Bhīma Kavi who was a poet both in Telugu and Kannaḍa translated into Kannaḍa the *Basava Purāṇa* based largely on Palkuriki Sōmanātha's Telugu work. Harihara II who was a good scholar was called a *Karnāṭaka Vidyāvilāsa* (a cultivator of Karnāṭaka learning).[120] The poet Madhura, who was also called Madhura Mādhava, lived during the period of Harihara II. He was a Jain and the author of the *Dharmanātha Purāṇa* which deals with the life of the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara.[121]

Fifteenth Century Poets:

The reign of Dēva Rāya II was a period of great literary activity, and during that time there flourished a large number of Vīra Śaiva scholars. Mahāliṅgadēva wrote the *Ekottara Ṣaṭsthala* and *Ṣaṭsthalaviveka*. Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanātha wrote the *Śiva Tattvacintāmaṇi*, a highly philosophical work, which the author calls the sūtra of the *Vīra Śaiva Siddhānta Tantra*, the fundamental sūtra of all the Vedas and *Āgamas*. Kumāra Vyāsa and Cāmarasa wrote the *Bhārata* in Kannaḍa, but according to a legend preserved in some later works the former on account of his jealousy of him prevailed upon the wife of the latter and managed to destroy the work of Cāmarasa with her aid. But Cāmarasa wrote the *Prabhuliṅgalīla* having been inspired by Śiva himself. It deals with the life of Allama also known as Prabhudēva, who was an intellectual giant and a tower of strength to the Vīra Śaiva movement. This work was admired by all scholars to such an extent that it is even said that king Dēva Rāya II honoured the poet and himself adopted the Vīra Śaiva faith. The *Prabhuliṅgalīla* is a very popular Vīra Śaiva work and has been translated both into Tamil and Telugu. The Kannaḍa version of the *Bhārata* of Kumāra Vyāsa is one of the very best works in Kannaḍa (and they are not many) from the point of view of its diction. Perhaps with the exception of Pampa he is the greatest Kannaḍa poet. During the same period also flourished a large number of other poets and scholars like Maggiya Maggidēva the author of some *Śatakas* which move the heart of

120. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 34.
121. *Karnataka Kavi Carite*, I, pp. 426-33.

the reader and Candrakavi who has written a work describing the audience hall of the God Virūpākṣa of the temple at Hampī.[122]

The period covered by the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa was also marked by the literary productions of a few scholars. Many of them were Vīra Śaiva writers. Among them mention may be made of Bommarasa, Kallarasa and Tontāda Siddhēśvara. Bommarasa was the author of the *Soundara Purāṇa*, dealing in Kannaḍa with the life of the Tamil Śaiva saint Sundara. Kallarasa was the author of *Janavaśya*, otherwise known as *Mallikārjunavijaya*. The poet says that the work amplified the teachings of Mallikārjuna to his queen as to the way by which women could subdue men (in love affairs). The work abounds in references to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and other works dealing with the same subject. Tontāda Siddhēśvara who appears to have lived about the time of Virūpākṣa III[123] was the author of the *Ṣaṭsthalajñānasārāmṛta*. He was a very popular Vīra Śaiva poet; the esteem in which he was held was so great that works like the *Virakta Tontādāryana Siddhēśvara Purāṇa* and Santiśa's *Tontāda Siddhēśvara Purāṇa* came to be written about him.[124]

Sixteenth Century Poets:

A scholar that flourished during that period was Timmanna Kavi, the son of Bhāskara Kavi. He wrote the latter half of the *Bhārata* in Kannaḍa at the instance of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. He specifically mentions in the colophons of the work that he wrote it "to render permanent the great fame of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, the son of Narasa."[125]

In the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya there flourished Kannaḍa poets of renown. One Śantikīrti who lived in the early sixteenth century was the author of the Jain work *Śantināthacarita* written in the *Saṅgatya* metre. Oḍuva Giriya and Bombeya Lakka, two Vīra Śaiva authors of the period, have written the story of Hariścandra. Vīrabhadrarāja, another scholar of the period, was the author of the *Vīrabhadra Vijaya* dealing with the sacrifice of Dakṣa. One Mallaṇārya of Gubbi composed the *Bhāvacintāratna*, a work that expounds the greatness of *Pañcākṣarī*, and the *Vīraśaivāmṛta Purāṇa*, a voluminous work containing more than 7,000

122. *Karnataka Kavi Carite*, II, pp. 43-86.
123. *E.C.*, XII, Kn. 49.
124. *Karnataka Kavi Carite*, II, pp. 97-100.
125. *Ibid.*, II, p. 189.

stanzas written in the *Ṣaṭpadi* metre. Kumāra Vālmīki has given a Kannaḍa version of the *Rāmāyana* on the lines of Kumāra Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*. Books on medicine were produced in the period. Of them mention may be made of the *Vaidyāmṛta* of Śrīdharadēva. The *Sūpaśāstra,* a work on cookery, is an interesting work of the period.

Among the poets who flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries mention may be made of one Virūpākṣa Paṇḍita who wrote the *Canna Basava Purāṇa* about 1584. The style of the work is simple. This *Purāṇa* is as important on the Vīra Śaiva theology as *Sivajñānabodham* is on Śaivasiddhānta theology. Among the Jain poets of the period mention must be made of one Ratnākara Varṇi, the author of the *Bharateśa Vaibhava* of ten thousand stanzas dealing with the story of Bharata, son of Ādinātha, the first Jaina. It is considered to be one of the best works in Kannaḍa literature. Bhaṭṭākalaṅkadēva was a great grammarian and poet of the period. He was the author of the *Karnāṭakaśabdānuśāsana*, a grammar on the Karnāṭaka language. He was the court poet of both Śrī Raṅga I and Veṅkaṭa II. He was sound both in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa and his work is a standing monument of his depth of learning. Sadāśiva Yōgi and Murige Dēśikēndra were two others of the period who were respectively the authors of the *Rāmanātha Vilāsa* and the *Rājēndra Vijaya*, both written in the *Campū* style.

Section V

Tamil

After the conquest of the Tamil country by Kampaṇa and its incorporation in the Vijayanagar empire there was a very peaceful atmosphere in the country and literary activity found encouragement. During the period of the Vijayanagar rule in South India there flourished many scholars who enriched Tamil literature by their works. Many of the works are of a religious character which deal with the Śaiva philosophy, and sing the praise of particular places of worship. But our present knowledge of the poets is too slender to help us to attempt a detailed account of their lives and works. However a few names deserve to be noted here.

In the early fifteenth century there lived in South India the well known Tamil poet Śirrambalāḍi just four generations after

the period of Umāpati Śivācārya who lived about A.D. 1313. A younger contemporary of his was Paḻutaikaṭṭi Jñānaprakāśar.

The Sāḷuva chief Tirumalayya dēva, the son of Sāḷuva Gōpa and brother of Sāḷuva Gōpa Tippa, was a great patron of Tamil literature. He has been praised by the poets like Kaḷamēghappulavar, and the twin poets Mudusūryar and Iḷañjūryar generally known as the Iraṭṭaiyar.[126]

Sixteenth Century Poets :

During the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya there flourished a good number of Tamil scholars in South India. Though it cannot be said if Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was a scholar in Tamil it is certain that he patronised the Tamil scholars many of whom have made reference to him in their works.

Tirumalainātha was a poet who spent a good part of his life at Cidambaram. He was the author of the *Cidambara Purāṇam*, a translation of the Sanskrit work of the same name, and the *Madurai Cokkanātharuḷā*. His son was Parañjōtiyār who wrote the *Cidambarappāṭṭiyal*, a work on poetics. Śevvaiccūḍuvar was another poet of the period who rendered into Tamil the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇam*. Tattvaprakāśa Svāmigaḷ who lived at Tiruvārūr was a good scholar of the period. He was in some way connected with the management of the temple at the place ; when the affairs of the temple were not getting on well, he reported the matter to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, who had the Śrī Bhaṭṭar of the temple removed from office and thereby restored order. He was the author of the *Tattvaprakāśam* which expounds the Śaiva philosophy. Vaḍamalai Aṉṉagaḷayyaṉ who was connected with the administration of the Tamil districts of the empire, and was well known for his devotion towards Viṣṇu and consequently bore the name of Haridāsar, was a good scholar of the time and was the author of the *Iruśamaya Viḷakkam* which praises the superiority of Vaiṣṇavism. Jñānaprakāśa Dēśikar who lived at Kāñcī was another notable scholar of the period. He was the author of a *mañjarippā* in praise of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya as also of the *Kacci Kalambakam*, an important work describing the greatness of Kāñcī. Another contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva was one Maṇḍala Puradar who was a Jain and a pupil of Guṇabhadra the head of the *maṭha* at Tirunaṟuṅkoṇḍai. He was the author of a Lexicon called *Nikaṇḍu Cūḍāmaṇi*. He also

126. *M.E.R.*, 1925, para 31; see also Purnalingam Pillai, *Hist. of Tamil Lit.*, pp. 274-75.

wrote the *Tiruppukal Purāṇam* dealing with the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Among the scholars patronised by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was a Brahman Kumārasarasvati who had a good knowledge of Sanskrit, Tẹlugu and Kannaḍa besides Tamil. In his Tamil work dealing with the activities of his patron he largely uses Kanarese and Telugu words. Vaḍamalayar, a Vidvān Paṇḍit of Āṟṟuvāṇpāḍi, was the recipient of a grant of lands from Viśvēśvara Śivācārya of the Bikṣāmaṭha.[127] It has been suggested that he was the author of the *Maccapurāṇam* and the *Nīḍūrttalapurāṇam.*[128] But it appears that the author of the two works was different from the Vijayanagar scholar since the *Maccapurāṇam* was written in K.A. 882 (A.D. 1707), more than one hundred and fifty years after the period of our scholar. Vīrakavirāśar was another poet who lived in the period and was the author of the *Hariccandrapurāṇam.* Varadan, generally known as Aruḷāḷadāsar, translated the *Purāṇa Bhāgavatam* into Tamil which deals with the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and the sports of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Perumāḷ Kavirāyar was another notable poet of the period who lived at Tirukurugai. He wrote the *Kurukāmāṇmiyam* and the *Māraṇkiḷavimaṇimālai,* two works which extol the greatness of the God at Āḻvār Tirunagiri, *Māraṇagapporuḷ, Tiruppatikōvai, Māraṇalaṅkāram* and *Māraṇpāppāviṇam* besides a few others. Contemporaneous with them was Kavirāśapaṇḍitar, a Brahman scholar who translated the *Saundaryalaharī* into Tamil. He was also the author of two Tamil works, *Varākimālai* and *Ānandamālai.*

Maṟaijñānasambandar of Cidambaram was a well known scholar who lived in the days of Acyuta Rāya and Sadāśiva. He was the author of a large number of works on Śaiva philosophy among which mention may be made of the *Patipaśupāśappanuval, Saṅkarpanirākaraṇam, Paramōpadēśam, Mundinilai, Śaivasamayaneṟi, Paramatatimirabānu, and Sakalāgamasāram.* He also wrote the *Kamalālayapurāṇam, Aruṇagiripurāṇam,* and the *Śivadharumōttaram.* Śivāgrayōgigaḷ who lived at Sūryanārkōyil was a Brahman scholar of the period and was the author of the *Śaiva Sannyāsa paddati, Śaiva paribhāṣai, Śiva Jñāna Siddhiyār urai, Śiva neṟi pirakāśam* besides many others of value. Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar was a scholar who lived at Tiruvārūr. He was appointed the superintendent of the temples at Śikkil, Vaḍakuḍi, Vōḍāccēri and a few other places under the orders of Kṛṣṇamarā-

127. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi,* p. 480; 365 of 1912.
128. V. R., *I.M.P.,* I, No. 166.

śayyaṉ, son of Aḷiya Rāmarāśayyaṉ in A.D. 1561.[129] He was the author of a large number of works among which were *Anuṭṭāna Agaval, Śivapūśai Agaval, Śivānanda Bōdam, Jñānappaḷḷu, Attuvakkaṭṭaḷai, Aṇṇāmalaikōvai, Āyirappāḍal, Tirumaḷuvāḍipurāṇam.* He also wrote the *Putpavidhi,* a work that describes the flowers that could be used for worship, and the *Pūmālai,* a work that deals with the garlands that could be used for adorning God. Gurujñānasambandar was another notable celebrity of the period who was the author of some important works among which were *Śivabhōgasāram, Śokkanātha Veṇbā, Muktiniccayam* and the *Paramānanda Viḷakkam.* Contemporaneous with him was a Jñānaprakāśar of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr who was the author of works like *Tiruvoṟṟiyūrpurāṇam, Saṅkarpanirākaraṇa urai* and *Śivajñānasiddiyār Parapakka urai.* Nirambavaḷagiya Dēśikar was another scholar of the time and was good both in Sanskrit and Tamil. He was the author of the *Sētupurāṇam, Tirupparaṅgiripurāṇam, Śivajñānasiddiyār urai* and the *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ urai.* Anadhāri was a poet patronised by Tiruvirundāṉ said to have been a minister of Vīrappa Nāyaka, son of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Madura. He was the author of a translation of the *Sundarapāṇḍyam* a work in Sanskrit.

Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya who was a subordinate ruler under Vijayanagar was himself a good scholar both in Sanskrit and Tamil. Among his works mention may be made of *Naiḍadam, Kāśikaṇḍam, Kūrmapurāṇam, Lingapurāṇam* and the *Veṟṟivēṟkai.* A contemporary of his was Parañjōtiyār, the author of the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍaṟ purāṇam.* Ellappa Nāyaṉār was another important scholar of the period who was the author of the *Aruṇaiantāti, Tiruvārūr kōvai, Aruṇācalapurāṇam, Tiruviriñjaipurāṇam* and the *Saundaryalahari urai.*

Seventeenth Century Poets:

Towards the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century flourished Rēvaṇasiddhar, a poet from Cidambaram. He was the author of *Akarāthi Nikaṇḍu,* an important lexicon based on previous works, *Tiruppaṭṭīśvarapurāṇam, Tiruvalañjuḷipurāṇam,* and *Tirumeṟṟaḷipurāṇam.* Apattaraṉar was another poet of the period and he was the author of the *Bhūkōḷa Śāstram,* a work in Geography.[130]

129. 104 of 1911.
130. For the above account of the Tamil poets *The Sixteenth Century Tamil Poets* by S. Somasundara Dēśikar has been largely used.

During the time of Veṅkaṭa there lived a scholar Ānanda Namaśśivāya Paṇḍāram by name, who was the disciple of one Cidambara Guru Namaśśivāyamūrti. The latter was the author of *Paramarahasyamālai*, *Cidambaraveṇbā*, *Aṇṇāmalaiveṇbā*, etc. He was the siddha who wrote the *Aruṇagiriyandāṇḍi*.[131]

Tāyumānavar, the great Tamil mystic poet and philosopher, appears to have lived during the time of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. He was a Śaivasiddhāntin and wrote a few works propounding the philosophy of his school. "As a poet he is unrivalled for sweetness blended with simplicity." According to an epigraph he died in A.D. 1662.[132]

Thus the Vijayanagar period was an age of great literary activity. Especially the reigns of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and Veṅkaṭapati Rāya constituted the golden age of Telugu and Sanskrit literature. Many of the feudatory Nāyaks were also great scholars and patrons of scholars, not to speak of the emperors at the imperial headquarters. Vijayanagar under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and Veṅkaṭa can very well be compared with Athens under Pericles. Vijayanagar has been sacked and ruined, but its power through its writers to delight the Hindus is still left. Truly was the period one of great literary movement and the contribution of Vijayanagar to literature is considerable.

131. See 61 of 1887; *Abhidhānacintāmani* p. 302; *North Arcot District Manual*, Vol. II, p. 288; V. R., *I.M.P.*, N.A. No. 614.

132. 7 of 1918. See Purnalingam Pillai, *Hist. of Tamil Lit.*, pp. 305-07.

CHAPTER XI

ARCHITECTURE SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Section I

Introductory

A description of the social life of a people in a particular age will be incomplete without an account of their architecture, sculpture and painting. The artistic tastes of the people of one century are not the same as those of the people of another; hence the style of the buildings of a particular period and the carvings, sculptures and paintings in them differ from those of another period. There have been different schools of architecture in India flourishing in the same period, and these wide differences are due to local peculiarities and local differences. At certain periods and in certain buildings, foreign influences are discernible. Broadly speaking, in the Vijayanagar period, two different schools of architecture were flourishing side by side—the Dravidian and the Indo-Saracenic—and the style of some of the Hindu monuments was influenced by the Indo-Saracenic style.

Many of the Vijayanagar monuments belonged to the Dravidian style of architecture. Speaking about this style Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil observes: "The Pallava period (600-850) is that of sculptured rocks, the early Cōla period (850-1100) that of grand vimānas, the later Cōla period (1100-1350) that of the most beautiful gōpuras, the Vijayanagar period (1350-1600) that of mantapas (pillared halls) and the modern period after 1600 that of corridors."[1]

The buildings constructed in the Vijayanagar period have certain interesting features. The stone used for many of the buildings of Vijayanagar is granite. At times it was procured for the buildings constructed in places where it was not available. But some of the idols within the temples are usually executed in a dark green chlorite stone which is soft and takes a high polish. On account of this their workmanship is far superior to those carved out of granite. Such idols therefore resemble bronze rather than stone.

1. *Dravidian Architecture*, p.

In the construction some of the Vijayanagar buildings, at least in those of the early period, mortar was not used though its use was well known. The absence of the use of mortar in the buildings of the Vijayanagar days can be accounted for by the fact that the blocks of granite stone used in constructing the temples were so large and heavy and so beautifully dressed and so accurately fitted together "that no cementing material was considered necessary." But the non-use of mortar in the construction of buildings was a source of weakness to the buildings themselves, for very often plants grew in the little space between blocks of granite stone, as a result of which the stones gave way and the building itself was ruined.

The Hindus appear to have preferred the lintel and the corbel principle in the construction of the *maṇṭapas*. When the Muhammadan styles of architecture had begun to affect the South Indian style appreciably, the Hindus adopted on a larger scale the method of constructing halls with barrel-shaped domes and arched gateways. As Havell says, "in the ruins of Hindu Vijayanagar will be found not only the proto-types of Muhammadan Bijapur, but illustrations of the process by which the Arab architecture of the seventh, eighth and following centuries gradually became the style of the pointed arch."[2]

Apart from these general considerations some features of the Vijayanagar edifices strike us as peculiar to that age. "Of all the parts of the edifice, that part, the form of which has varied in the most characteristic fashion is perhaps 'the corbel' which is placed below the capital of the pillars." It differs from age to age. This part of the edifice "which is no other than the extremity of the beams cut with the blows of the hatchet" received some ornamentation in the later Cōḻa and the Vijayanagar periods. While in the Pallava period its design was plain, in the Cōḻa period it was fashioned in the form of doucines, and in the Vijayanagar period it became changed into the form of flowers falling down. But later the corbel underwent a further change and the drooping flower came to be separated from the rest of the stone, and it has now at its end a sort of finial (*pūmuṉai*).

In course of time, the *idal* which supports the capital of a pillar similarly underwent changes in design. While in the Pallava and Cōḻa periods it was plain, in the Vijayanagar period

2. *Indian Architecture,* p. 183.

it was represented with opened petals, and these petals look like a series of indentations. In the same way the *nāgabandham,* so called because of its resemblance to the "hood of a cobra", was a feature of the later Cōḷa and the Vijayanagar architecture. The floral designs and the foliage which surround the *kūḍu* differ from period to period. While in a *kūḍu* of the Pallava period there is less of ornamentation, but generally is sculptured in it a gandharva who resembles a man looking through a window, a *kūḍu* of the Vijayanagar period has greater ornamentation and the gandharva has no place in it. Even this ornamentation has disappeared in the modern period, and we have only plain *Kūḍus* now.

In the same way the niches which are generally sculptured in high relief on the walls of temples, present varied appearance in the different periods of the history of the architecture of South India. While in the Pallava and Cōḷa periods there was great ornamentation made over the niche, in the Vijayanagar period, greater prominence was given to the *śālai* which contains an elongated roof surmounted by *s'ūpis.* The upper part of the niche is plain and simple except perhaps for the *kūḍu* which is sculptured in a few of the *śālais.*

Section II

HINDU MONUMENTS

Among the sites containing the Vijayanagar monuments the most important one is the present tiny and fever-stricken village of Hampi, once the glorious capital of the Vijayanagar emperors. It now looks too wild to have been the birth-place and capital of an empire. Hampi is at present seen dotted with little hills of granite and not a blade of grass can be seen there now. Huge boulders are found there in the "most fantastic confusion." But on this unpromising site rose the city " of widespread fame, marvellous for its size and prosperity with which for richness and magnificence no Western capital could compare," a city which even to-day is "virtually a vast (and impressive) open air museum of Hindu monuments."

For purposes of convenient handling the Vijayanagar Hindu monuments may be classified under three groups: (1) Temples, (2) Civil architecture like palaces and irrigation projects and (3) Military architecture.

1-*a*. *Temples*

Śrī Virūpākṣa Temple:

Among the temples at Hampi one of the earliest is the Pampāpati temple dedicated to Śrī Virūpākṣa. Parts of the temple appear to date their existence from a period prior to the foundation of Vijayanagar, but additions were made to it by the Vijayanagar kings. Harihara I is said to have built a temple here in honour of Vidyāraṇya who is believed to have helped him in the foundation of the empire.[3] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya built the *raṅgamaṇṭapa* in front of the main shrine in honour of his coronation.[4] Equally old is the shrine or Bhuvanēśvarī, within the temple. The style of the building belongs to the twelfth century. The shrine has a beautifully executed Cāḷukyan doorway "flanked by the pierced stone windows characteristic of the style, and several Cāḷukyan pillars carved in black stone." The plan of the Pampāpati temple consists of two large courts, one to the east and the other to the west, and they are divided by a wall. A large *gōpura* on its eastern wall is the main entrance to the east court, while the west court is entered by a smaller *gōpura* on its northern side. It is in the west court that the principal shrine and many of the smaller ones are located.

Kṛṣṇasvāmi Temple:

The Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple was constructed by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya soon after his return from Udayagiri. He had brought an image of Kṛṣṇa from a temple in the hill fortress of Udayagiri, and in order to house that idol he built this temple.[5] There is an evenness of style employed in its architecture which shows that the temple was built within a short time. The whole structure consists of a principal shrine enclosed by a *pradakṣiṇa*. In front of the shrine are the *ardhamaṇṭapa* and *mahāmaṇṭapa*. There is one small temple to the north of the *vimāna* while another is to the north side of the front of the *mahāmaṇṭapa*; and there is yet another on the south side of the same *maṇṭapa*.

The workmanship in the execution of the temple does not appear to be of a high order. It is plain and coarse except the *mahāmaṇṭapa* which is ornamented. "It has a carved moulded basement with piers over each bearing several minor detached

3. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 300; *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 236, *fn.* 2.
4. 29 of 1889; *E.I.*, I, pp. 363 and 370.
5. 25 and 26 of 1889; *S.I.I.*, IV, Nos. 244 and 245.

shafts, and an overhanging cornice above." To the south of this building in the outer court is a building with a few small slits for windows and a low arched door on the east side. Piers with pointed arches divide the interior into squares. The roof is made up of many flat domes with small openings. There are a few ruined gate-ways in the temple which were originally towers constructed with brick and decorated with stucco figures.

Hazāra Rāmasvāmi Temple :

The Hazāra Rāmasvāmi Temple has been considered to be the private chapel of the kings on account of its close proximity to the palace and its ornate character. The construction of this temple has generally been attributed to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. But an epigraph found on the basement of the temple mentions a Dēva Rāya. Hence it appears to be an old temple. But parts of it might have been re-built by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. Such parts must have been finished late after the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple was completed, for we find that the execution of the work in the Hazāra Rāmasvāmi temple exhibits in many respects a decided advance over that of the other. The temple is a small one measuring 200 feet from east to west and 110 feet from north to south, but "is one of the perfect specimens of Hindu temple architecture of the Vijayanagar period in existence." The *ardhamaṇṭapa* of the temple is a handsome construction of four piers. The roof is supported by four beautiful polished black-stone piers " crowned with bracket capitals of Indo-Corinthian appearance. The whole *maṇṭapa* including the projecting drip-stones is built of granite, while the *vimāna* over the sanctum is constructed with brick and plaster decorated with stucco figures. There are bas-reliefs decorating the exterior walls of the shrine of the chamber and the pillared porticoes." " Besides these interesting bas-reliefs, the beautiful pilasters and engaged columns, the ornamental niches for detached sculpture, and the handsome mouldings and massive cornices adorning the exterior walls of these two temples are worthy of notice." The exterior walls of the shrine and those of the court are covered with well executed panel groups. These depict interesting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the legend of Kṛṣṇa. Some of the scenes represented are those of Rāma slaying Tāṭakā, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā crossing the Ganges, Jaṭāyu falling down half dead after the fight with Rāvaṇa to rescue Sīta, Rāma shooting his arrow through the seven trees at once to prove his strength to Sugrīva, Hanumān interviewing Rāvaṇa in Laṅka and sitting on the top of his coiled up tail and Rāvaṇa in his death agony. Kṛṣṇa is represented with a host of

gōpīs. The exterior of this wall contains fine rows of bas-relief-sculpture depicting scenes from the *Mahānavami* festival. The bottom row represents a procession of the state elephants ; the next a procession of the king's horses ; the third row depicts a procession of soldiers; the row above this one represents a procession of dancing girls and musicians. Another interesting feature of the temple is the fact that though it is a Vaiṣṇava temple, Śaiva figures are found in it. Thus we see the figures of Subrahmaṇya and Gaṇeśa in the temple. Viṣṇu is represented in a sculpture on a pillar as riding a horse, which perhaps represents Kalki. Even the Buddha is represented in two basreliefs on the outer side of the walls of the sanctum of the temple.

Viṭṭhala Temple :

But it is the Viṭṭhala temple that represents the most perfect specimen of Vijayanagar architecture. The temple is dedicated to Viṣṇu in the form of Viṭṭhala or Viṭhoba, a form of Kṛṣṇa worshipped in the Mahratta country. The temple can be dated back to the days of Dēva Rāya II. The poet Haribhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, mentions in his *Narasiṁhapurāṇa* that Proluganṭi Tippaṇa, an officer of Dēva Rāya II, built the *bhoga-maṇṭapa* of the temple. Substantial additions to it appear to have been made during the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya; but unfortunately the temple never saw completion. There are within the temple many inscriptions of dates ranging from 1513 to 1564, and the work of construction seems to have been stopped after the partial destruction of the city in 1565.

" The building is the finest of its kind in Southern India ", and as Fergusson says " shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced." The temple stands on a rectangular enclosure 538 by 310 feet with three *gōpurams* on the north, south and east sides respectively. The main building stands on a high and richly carved basement. The whole court is built of granite and carved with a boldness and expression of power nowhere surpassed in the buildings of its days. "It has all the characteristics of the Dravidian style: the bold cornice of double flexture, the detached shafts, the Vyālis, the richly carved stylobate etc."[6] The most wonderful part of it is the style and workmanship of the composite pillars each of which is carved out of a single block of granite. "The beauty of the Kalyāṇa maṇṭapa alone would be

6. Fergusson, *Ind. and East Arch.*, I, p. 401.

sufficient to excite wonder and admiration in its beholder."[7] It is a magnificent building with a raised dais used during festivals. The people at Hampi say that there were chains of stone rings hanging from the eves at several of the corners of the temple till about thirty or forty years ago. Just opposite to the *mahāmaṇṭapa* is the stone car, part of which is built of granite. Originally it had a dome-shaped *stūpi* made of brick and plaster. Fergusson thinks that it is formed of a single block of granite and hence monolithic[8] but both Rea and Longhurst feel that it is not so, but consists of nine separate blocks of stone.

Acyuta Rāya Temple :

The Acyuta Rāya temple, though designed on the plan of the Viṭṭhala temple, is not so grand from the point of view of its workmanship. In front of the main shrine of the temple there is a pillared hall now in a decayed condition. The pillars in the hall contain some good sculptures. The inner courtyard is surrounded by a verandah with carved pillars and decorated panels representing an elephant procession. There are also beautiful sculptures in the panels between the plinth and the cornice mouldings of the basement on the west and north-western sides of the verandah. The stone carving on the ruined northern gateway of the temple is also noteworthy. The different incarnations of Viṣṇu are represented on them. On both sides of the inner and outer door jams are represented two beautiful female figures, "representing in duplicate the river goddess Gaṅgā or the Ganges, standing on the back of a *makara* or conventional crocodile from the mouth of which issues a floriated scroll ornament of semi-classical character which is continued all round the door frame and forms a very pleasing ornament."

The Mālyavanta Temple :

The Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple is built very near the precipice of the Mālyavanta hill. The image of Rāma, the object of worship in the temple, is carved upon a huge boulder. The temple like many others has a *mahāmaṇṭapa* and a *kalyāṇamaṇṭapa,* and these contain some fine sculptures. One of the most interesting among them is the figure of two serpents approaching the sun or moon, representing a solar or lunar eclipse.

7. *Hampi Ruins*, p. 132.
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 401.

Statue of Narasiṁha :

A huge monolithic statue of Narasiṁha, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, is enshrined within a walled enclosure. According to an epigraph written on a slab within the enclosure it was hewn out of a single boulder by a Brahman in 1528.[9] It is twenty-two feet high, and in spite of its large size, the details and the finish of the statue are very well executed. This can be seen even now though it has been mutilated. V. A. Smith speaking about this statue of Narasiṁha observes : "The semi-barbarism of the court is reflected in the forms of art. The giant monolithic Man-lion (Narasiṁha) statue, 22 feet high, and the huge monkey god Hanumān, although wrought with exquisite finish, are hideous inartistic monsters : and the sculpture generally, however perfect in mechanical execution, is lacking in beauty and refinement."[10] This only shows that Smith found great difficulty in understanding Indian art or its ideals.

Temples in the Mysore Country :

With the advent of the Vijayanagar empire the Dravidian style was revived in the buildings in the Mysore country where during the time of the Hoyśālas the Hoyśāla style had flourished. But the Dravidian style that was reintroduced in the Kanarese districts in the Vijayanagar period was influenced largely by the Hoyśāla style of architecture.

Vidyāśaṅkara Temple :

One of the early temples built in the Mysore territory soon after the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire was the Vidyāśaṅkara temple at Śṛṅgēri. This temple though built in the Dravidian style has largely been influenced by the Hoyśāla art. It has the following features of the Hoyśāla style : It is built on a raised terrace about three feet high ; rows of animals and purānic scenes adorn the outside walls of the temple.[11] This has led some scholars to think that it was a Hoyśāla temple. But its plan is distinctly Dravidian. The temple has a *garbhagṛha*, a *śukhanāsi*, a *pradakṣina* and a *navaraṅga*. Figures large and small adorn the walls of the temple. It has been said that it is "a veritable museum of sculptures for the study of Hindu iconography". Among the larger ones there are altogether 104. But the smaller ones are more interesting. The purānic friezes depict some interesting scenes from the Śaiva purāṇas. In one panel Śaṅkarācārya is seen teach-

9. *E.I.*, I., p. 399.
10. *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 228.
11. *Q. J. M. S.*, VI, p. 252.

ing four of his disciples who are seated two on either side with their books placed on *vyāsapīṭhas* (book rests),[12] while there are a few others standing. There are also several figures which represent different kinds of *yōga* posture. Many sages are depicted as seated on various animals. Special mention may be made of the chains of stone rings hanging from the eves at several of the corners of the temple.

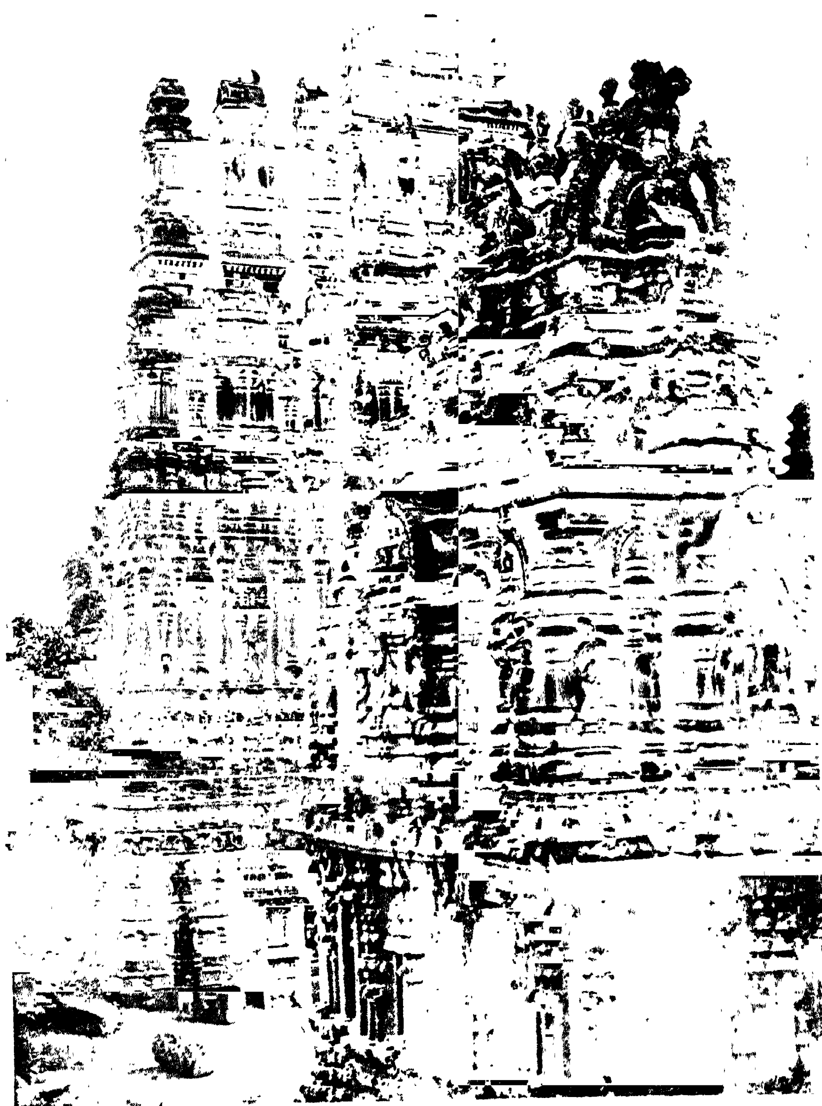
The importance of the *navaraṅga* in the temple from the architectural point of view is very great. It " is a grand hall supported by 12 sculptured pillars with lions and riders, the corner pillars having lions and riders on two faces, the whole pillar being carved out of a single block of stone. Many of the lions have balls of stone put into their mouths which must have been prepared when making the lions, seeing that they can be moved about, but cannot be taken out. Each pillar has sculptured on its back a sign of the zodiac such as the ram, bull and so forth; and it is stated that the pillars are so arranged that the rays of the sun fall on them in the order of the solar months ; that is to say, the rays of the sun fall on the pillar marked with ram in the first solar month and so on with others. Each pillar has likewise carved on it the particular planet or planets ruling over the particular *rāśi* or zodiacal sign represented by it, while the sun being the lord of all the *rāśis* is sculptured on the top panel of all the pillars........The central ceiling about eight feet square, is an exquisite piece of workmanship with a panel, about four feet square and two feet deep, in the middle containing a beautiful lotus bud of five tiers of concentric petals at which parrots are shown as pecking on the four sides head downwards."[13] Thus the style of the whole architecture and sculpture in the building is really superb.

Lakṣmīdēva and Mallikārjuna Temples :

In front of the Lakshmīdēva temple at Mēlkōṭe is a *maṇṭapa* which contains some interesting sculptures. It appears to have been built, as the inscriptions in it show, about A.D. 1458, by Raṅganāyakī, the wife of Timma Daṇḍanāyaka, a minister of Dēva Rāya II and Mallikārjuna, and "lord of Nelamaṅgala." The sculptures depict scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata*. In one of them is seen Vibhīṣaṇa visiting Rāma while in another Kṛṣṇa is depicted as killing Kaṁsa.[14] The pillars in the Tiruk-

12. See *M.A.R.*, 1916, Pl. VII, No. 4 facing p. 14.
13. *Ibid.*, para 14.
14. *M.A.R.*, 1906-07, para 31 referred to in *Mys. Gaz.*, New edn., II, Pt. i, p. 290.

To face page 397.



Gopuram, Rāma Temple, Tāḍpatri

kacci nambi temple at the same place contain thirteen interesting sculptures, which are described by inscriptions under each. These depict certain interesting incidents in the life of Arjuna such as the performance of penance on the Indrakīla mountain.[15] Similarly the Mallikārjuna temple at Paṅkajanahaḷḷi contains some interesting sculptures. In one of them Kaṇṇappa is seen armed with a bow, piercing his eye with an arrow, his foot on a Liṅga canopied by a three-hooded snake; Śakti Gaṇapati is represented with his consort on his left thigh; while Śiva is represented as Liṅgōdbhavamūrti with a boar (Viṣṇu) at the bottom and a swan (Brahmā) at the top.[16]

Temples in South India:

South India is a land of temples, and there are many big ones among them. Though the Vijayanagar kings did not build all of them they at least built parts of many of them. It was in the Vijayanagar days that many of the great temples of South India were provided with huge towers. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya for instance built a good part of the northern tower at Cidambaram, one on the south side of the outer enclosure of the Ēkāmbaranātha shrine at Conjeevaram and another at Kāḷahasti. "The like model of these lofty towers elsewhere introduced, procured for them the designation of Rāyar Gōpuram or a tower after the Rāyar's fashion—that is a large and lofty tower."[17] It was only later that the huge towers in the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Madura were built. Further many of the huge *maṇṭapas* in the temples of South India were built in the Vijayanagar days.

Tāḍpatri:

Tāḍpatri is a place of great architectural interest. There is a deserted temple at the place with two large *gōpurams* one finished and the other completed only to the height of the *prākāra* wall, the tower proper not having been begun.[18] The unique feature about these two towers is the fact that generally the perpendicular part is comparatively plain and simple without many sculptural decorations; while the upper part is studded with such sculptures, the lower portion of these towers is very closely "covered with the

15. *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, para 61 referred to in *ibid.*, p. 290.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
17. W. Taylor, *Or. Hist. Mss.*, II, p. 125.
18. Tradition says that it had been destroyed by the Mahrattas.

most elaborate sculptures cut with exquisite sharpness and precision, in a fine close-grained hornblende (?) stone, and produces an effect richer, and on the whole perhaps in better taste, than anything else in this style. .... If compared with Halebid or Belur, these Tadpatri gopurams stand that test (of comparison) better than any other works of the Vijayanagar Rajas."[19]

Vellore :

The temple within the fort is important for the *kalyāṇamaṇṭapa* it contains. It is one of the best specimens of Dravidian architecture. The *vyāḷis* and rearing horsemen are exquisitely carved, but there is no exaggeration of the parts. "The great cornice, too, with its double flextures and its little trelliswork of supports, is not only very elegant in form but one of those marvels of patient industry such as are to be found hardly anywhere else."[20]

Conjcevaram :

The Ēkāmbaranātha temple at Conjeevaram possesses one of the largest *gōpurams* in South India measuring 188 feet and it has ten stories. It was built by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya of Vijayanagar. There are many *maṇṭapas* in the temple one of which has about 540 columns. The Varadarājasvāmi temple, parts of which were built by the Vijayanagar kings, contains a *kalyāṇamaṇṭapa* in the style of the one at Vellore with granite pillars in which are represented figures riding on horses or hippogriffs.

Cidambaram :

Large additions were made by the Vijayanagar kings to the temple at Cidambaram. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya constructed a good portion of the northern *gōpuram* on his return from Simhādri. It is a massive structure, 140 feet high. The lower part of it is constructed of granite, while the pyramidal part is built of brick and plaster studded with stucco figures. There are carved on it both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva figures. The figure of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is sculptured in high relief in a niche on the western side of the northern tower of the temple. A spacious *maṇṭapa* standing on a thousand columns appears to have been constructed during this period. It is about 197 feet wide and 338 feet long. The pillars are each made of a single block of granite. The style and ornamentation of these

19. Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and East. Arch.*, I, p. 404.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

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Kalyanamantapa, Śiva temple, Vellore

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pillars look old but certain features in the building give it a modern appearance. The central pier is formed of radiating arches supported by brick vaults. Fergusson is of opinion that these vaults are certainly integral, and could not have been employed " till after the Muhammadans had settled in the south and taught the Hindus how to use them." One of the finest structures at the place is the porch before the Pārvatī shrine. It contains five aisles. The outer ones are each six feet broad, the next ones eight feet each, while the central one is about twenty-one feet six inches. " In order to roof this without employing stones of such dimensions as would crush the supports, recourse was had to vaulting, or rather bracketing shafts and these brackets were again tied together by transverse purlins all in stone, and the system was continued till the width was reduced to a dimension that could easily be spanned. As the whole is enclosed in a court surrounded by galleries two storeys in height the effect of the whole is singularly pleasing."[21] There is an attractive portico standing on square pillars all of them elaborately ornamented, before the shrine of Ṣaṇmukha or Subrahmaṇya to the north of the shrine of Pārvatī. From the character of its ornamentation it appears to have been built about the end of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Fergusson however thinks that from the nature of its style the building is assignable to an earlier date.

Madura :

The *Vasanta* or *Pudu maṇṭapam* at Madura is of very great architectural interest. It is 333 feet long and 105 feet broad, and consists of four ranges of columns, all very elaborately sculptured. The facade of this hall is adorned with *vyāḷis*, monsters of the lion type, trampling on an elephant, or a warrior is seen sitting on a rearing horse his feet supported by the shields of foot-soldiers sometimes killing men and sometimes tigers. On these sculptures Fergusson says: " These groups found literally in hundreds in South India, and as works exhibiting difficulties overcome by patient labour, they are unrivalled, so far as I know, by anything found elsewhere. As works of art they are the most barbarous, it may be said the most vulgar to be found in India, and do more to shake one's faith in the civilization of the people who produced them than anything they did in any department of art."[22] But as Vincent Smith remarks, the opinions of Fergusson are too harsh.

21. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 377.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 389-90.

"Fergusson's criticism fails to give the southern sculptures due credit for their power of expressing vigorous movement. .... Such figures appear to be unknown elsewhere, and it is not apparent how they became so much favoured in the Tamil country."[23] Smith however remarks : " The southern sculpture, remarkable.... for its enormous quantity, fantastic character, often degenerating into the grotesque, and marvellous elaboration, rarely, if ever, exhibits the higher qualities of art. The sculptures being designed to be viewed by the mass, not as individual works, reproductions of a few separate figures cannot do full justice either to the sculptor's intention or to the general effect."[24]

The *gōpuram* in front of the choultry was also begun by Tirumala Nāyaka. From north to south it is 174 feet and in depth it is 117 feet. The *gōpuram* remains incomplete, but even in its present size it is an imposing structure. The door posts are made of single granite stone carved with beautiful scroll patterns of elaborated foliage.

The temple at Madura itself is a monument of very fine workmanship. There is a hall of thousand columns in the temple. It is a marvellous work from the architectural point of view. The whole building is elaborately sculptured in a manner which excites the wonder and admiration of the visitor.[25]

1-b. *Portrait Sculpture*

Castings in bronze and brass are largely made in South India. Idols in temples and statues of eminent rulers who made large benefactions for the upkeep of and worship in temples are made and placed in them. Though many of the bornze castings must have been made in the Vijayanagar days also we do not get much information about them. But there are three brass castings in the Tirumalai temple which are of some interest. One of them repre-

23. *A Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 233-34.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 234-35.

25. A Tamil work called the *Tiruppaṇimālai* states that Kṛṣṇavīrappa Nāyaka constructed (reconstructed?) the *Veḷḷiambalam*, the northern *gopuram*, the shrine called *Śevviśvaram*, the kitchen, as also the thousand-pillared *maṇṭapa*, the *Mūrtiyammaṉ maṇṭapa*, the *Śuṟṟumaṇṭapa* of the second *prākāra* and the *Vīrappa maṇṭapa* with sculptured pillars. He also covered the pillars of a *maṇṭapa* of the temple of Mīnākṣī with gold. (*E.I.*, XII, p. 161).

sents Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, who was a staunch devotee of God Veṅkaṭēśa and made substantial improvements to the temple.[26] The other two represent his two queens Cinnādēvī and Tirumalādēvī. They were apparently contemporary statues. Speaking about them Vincent Smith remarks: "The images although formal in design and defective in expression seem to be executed with great delicacy."[27]

In the Tirumalai temple there is also a copper statue of Veṅkaṭa II (1585-1614). Its workmanship is delicate to an extreme degree and is a good specimen of portrait sculpture. Besides there is also in the temple a group of two statues (husband and wife) carved in stone. It is generally supposed to be a carving of Tirumala I and his wife Vēngalāmbā.[28] But an old Mahratta inventory of the articles and properties of the temple refers to the group as statues of Acyuta and his queen Varadāji Ammā.[29]

The *Pudu maṇṭapa* at Madura gains greater importance and interest owing to the fact that it contains the statues of ten Nāyak kings of the place. The sculptor does not idealise his figures, but the statues appear to be true portraits of the first ten Nāyak rulers of Madura. Many of them wear helmets over their heads, and a cloth round their waists. These statues are perfect specimens of South Indian art.[30]

2. *Civil Architecture*

(a) *Palaces and public buildings in Vijayanagar*:

The palaces and other civil buildings that were constructed by the kings at Vijayanagar are now in ruins. Many of them were razed to the ground by the Mussalmans who committed all manner of excesses after the battle of Rakṣas Taṅgḍi. As a result, instead of the buildings we see only platforms. But the following remains can be noted.

26. With this can be compared the stone statue of the king placed in a niche of the northern *gōpura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram. It is a fine piece of workmanship. See frontispiece.

27. *Hist. of Fine Art in Ind. and Ceylon*, p. 238. See also fig. 21 in *Portrait Sculpture in South India* by T. G. Aravamuthan.

28. *A.S.R.*, 1912, p. 189 *fn*. 3; see also Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*. I, plate facing p. 248.

29. *Rep. on Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Ins.*, p. 315 and plate 53.

30. See 'The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura in the *Pudu manṭapam*' in *Q.J.M.S.*, XV, pp. 209 ff., by Heras where the figures are reproduced; also Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*, Pl. lxxxiv, p. 60.

Within the citadel there is a very large basement which appears to have been that of an important building—perhaps the audience hall of the Vijayanagar kings. The upper surface of the platform shows traces of the existence of six rows of pillars, each row containing ten pillars, for there are to be seen sixty bases on which the pillars probably rested. They were in all likelihood made of timber since no stone pillar is seen there now even in a broken condition. From the statement of Abdur Razāk that the king's "Audience Hall was elevated above all the rest of the lofty buildings in the Citadel" we can fairly presume that it had one or two stories above it. But it appears they were all in timber. The basement of the platform is adorned with simple carvings.

But the "Throne Platform" is the most attractive among the many to be seen there. Paes calls the building that stood upon this platform as the "House of Victory" on account of the fact that it was built by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya soon after his return from his victorious campaign against the ruler of Orissa. It was the place where the king used to be sitting to witness the celebration of the *Mahānavami* festival. The platform "is a massive structure, originally faced with carved granite blocks and slabs which have subsequently been partly refaced with dark green chlorite stone on the front or west side of the platform. .... The spaces between the different rows of the plinth mouldings of the platform are mostly elaborately carved in a similar style to that employed in the ornamentation of the enclosure walls of the Hazāra Rāma temple, the different scenes representing processions of soldiers, horses, elephants, camels and dancing girls."[30a] A few bas-reliefs on the walls of the platform depict hunting scenes and conventional animals. The sculptures are, however, crude on account of the granite on which they are made. "The upper course of stone is decorated with a procession of elephants. Two foreign-looking men with pointed beards and Persian-like caps are shown bowing to a group of figures seated on a throne. Perhaps the scene is intended to represent a visit of two foreign ambassadors to the court."[31] Longhurst is of opinion that there is a pronounced Jaina style about these old bas-reliefs, and says that it is at times a little difficult "to know whether some of the figures represent men or women owing to the curious manner in which both sexes wear their hair."[32] Be-

30a. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 58.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
32. *Ibid.*

low the procession of elephants are seen a row of sacred geese and conventional crocodiles which was a favourite design of the early Jains and Buddhists. Under this there are three rows of dancing girls. The figures are full of spirit and action. In another place in the same building, there are a few other sculptures. In the top panel we see a parade of the king's horses. Below it is seen a hunting scene. "One man is shown spearing a tiger or panther, whilst two men, one armed with a bow, and the other with a curiously shaped weapon and leading brace of grey hounds, are depicted hunting antelope. In the centre is a tree in which are two armed men being attacked by some wild beast. Below the tree is a boar on one side and a cross on the other, the latter is certainly peculiar, but in this case it is merely a conventional method of representing an ornamental tank. Below are represented two boxers giving an exhibition of the "noble art" before the king in the manner related by Nuniz. To the left we have a very Assyrian looking bas-relief representing a warrior slaying a bear by calmly plunging a dagger into its open mouth as it charges. . . .Processions of horses and warriors, camels carrying drummers with kettle-drums shaped like baskets, elephants, dancing girls and musicians make up the rest of the scenes depicted in these quaint old bas-reliefs."[33] The gorgeous processions connected with the *Mahānavami* festival described by the foreign travellers are all represented on the sides of the platform. In one of them a young noble is seen taking part in the festival along with a group of dancing girls, "two of the latter being armed with squirts full of saffron water." Longhurst takes this to be a representation of the *Holi* festival described by Nicolo dei Conti. But the panel appears to represent a very common feature of the life of the Vijayanagar nobility—the water sports or *jalakrīḍā* which contemporary literature describes elaborately.

There is another platform in the locality which appears to have been that of the palace since it is situated within the royal enclosure near the king's Audience Hall and the Throne Platform. The walls standing on this Platform are of brick and mortar instead of stone, while the superstructure and the pillars appear to have been of wood, which were burnt down by the Muhammadans. The basement stands on a platform of about five feet on the panels of which are engraved interesting *Mahānavami* processions.

33. *Ibid*, pp. 64-65.

(b) *Irrigation works*:

For the supply of water to the city of Vijayanagar great facilities were provided. Water seems to have been got from a tank situated at a comparatively high level. But Longhurst suggests that it must have been got from a well outside the city, "in the usual Indian fashion by means of large leather buckets worked by bullocks the water being poured into a main channel connected with branch pipes."[34] A stone channel which is near the Throne Platform leads to the enclosure walls of the citadel. Another branches from it to the Zenānā enclosure. It goes up to the Queen's Bath. This is a square building in the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture and is surrounded by a moat. An arched corridor with small projecting balconies surrounds the building, and from it a view can be had of the Bath in the centre. To the north of the Candraśēkhara temple in the citadel is an octagonal tank with a dilapidated pavilion in the centre and a pillared corridor with a flat roof running all round the tank. It was perhaps used as a pleasure resort. The Turuttu channel runs alongside of the hill and " takes off from the Turuttu anicut across the river Tuṅgabhadrā about a mile west of Hampi. Apart from these, there are two objects of great interest. One is a stone trough opposite the platform of the king's "Audience Hall." It was used perhaps for storing water for the horses and elephants of the ambassadors and nobles who sought the audience of the king. It is made of a single block of granite measuring 41½ feet in length and 3 feet in width, and 2 feet 9 inches in thickness and contains a small drainage hole for flushing out purposes. The other building is the octagonal pavilion, rather a large structure. It is built in the Indo-Saracenic style. On all sides of the building there are arched openings and there is a small fountain basin in the centre of the building. The building also contains a massive stone trough carved out of a single block of granite in which, it is said, milk was kept for distribution to the poor during the big festivals at the capital.

(c) *Bazaars*:

Interesting examples of street architecture in the Vijayanagar days can be seen in the Hampi bazaar which continues to exist even to the present day in a fairly perfect condition. It is opposite to the temple at Hampi and is 35 yards wide and 800 yards long. Many of the buildings in the street are simple *maṇṭapas* standing

34. *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

on stone pillars supporting ornamented lintel. A few of them have two stories "and a row of moulded columns with carved capitals in front, supporting a moulded and ornamental cornice and parapet."[35] At the east end of the street is a large *Nandi* (the Sacred Bull of Śivȧ) facing the Hampi temple. Just in front of the *maṇṭapa* in which it is housed is the two-storied building with many finely carved pillars of black stone in the Cāḷukyan style of which we have spoken.[36] Another street known as the Śooḷai Bazaar or the dancing girls' street runs north of Acyuta Rāya's temple. The dancing girls are said to have lived here. The houses are in ruins, but the dancing girls appear to have lived in houses separated by rubble walls which were plastered over. There is a tank or bath at the north-western end of the street which was probably used by the dancing girls.

To the east of the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple there is another bazaar; but this is on a lower ground than the temple itself. The buildings have all only one story and the lintels used for them stand on stone piers. At the north side of the street there is a large tank surrounded by a corridor and it is entered by an ornamented gateway. Both this and the Śooḷai Bazaar are now deserted, and the lands between the ruins are under cultivation.

3. *Military Architecture.*

The city of Vijayanagar was surrounded by seven lines of fortifications. Abdur Razāk observed that the city was so built that it had seven fortified walls one within the other. He says: "Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards in which stones are fixed within one another to the height of a man ; one half is buried firmly in the earth and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold can advance with facility near the outer wall."[37] There were six fortresses within this outer one, and within the last fortress was the palace of the king. Paes also confirms the account of the Persian Ambassador and states that the city was fortified by strong walls "made of very strong masonry such as would be found in few other parts."[38] The form of the city was a circle.

35. Rea, *Madras Chr. Coll. Mag.*, II, p. 506.
36. See p. 391.
37. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 106.
38. Sewell, *Op. cit.*, p. 244.

Abdur Razāk speaks of the city as having been a circle and being situated on a hill.[39] Caesar Frederick confirms this statement.[40]

The size of the city has been variously estimated. Nicolo dei Conti remarks that the walls of the city of Vijayanagar were carried up to the mountains and enclosed the valleys at their foot and that by that reason the extent of the city was increased, and its circumference was sixty miles.[41] Abdur Razāk says that the distance between the northern and southern gates of the outer fortress was two statute *parasangs* and the same was also the distance between the eastern and western outer gates.[42] Paes thinks that the circumference of the city was twenty-four leagues[43] and says that the first *serra* was two leagues away from the capital. According to Caesar Frederick it was twenty-four miles. From these widely contradictory statements of the different writers it is difficult to estimate the exact size of the capital. However it appears that the accounts of Nicolo dei Conti and Paes are highly exaggerated with regard to the size of the city. It is highly improbable that the size was so big, for, if it had really been so, the distance between the centre of the capital and the first line of fortifications must have been about eighteen to twenty miles. It is probable that both the chroniclers wrongly took into account the mountain fortresses and the fortifications outside the main fortifications of the capital and calculated the circumference to be more than sixty miles. Abdur Razāk's statement that the diameter of the city was fourteen miles can be well compared with the modest estimate of the circumference of the city by Caesar Frederick. Sewell says: "From the last fortification in the south beyond the present town of Hospet, to the extreme point of the defences of Anegundi on the north the distance is about twelve miles. From the extreme western line of walls in the plain to the last of eastern works amongst the hills lying in the direction of Daroji and Kampili the interval measures about ten miles. Within this area we find the remains of the structures of which I have spoken."[44] Thus the area occupied

39. Elliot. *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 106. The *Vidyāraṇya Kalājñāna* states that the city was built like a Śrī Cakra.

40. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 97.

41. Major, *India*, p. 6.

42. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 107 ; *Parasang*=3½ miles.

43. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-43. League=3 miles.

44. *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

by the present ruined site of the capital of Vijayanagar also shows that the estimates of Abdur Razāk and Caesar Frederick are nearer the truth than the estimates of Nicolo dei Conti and Paes.

The massive walls of the fortifications at the capital were pierced by openings which served as gateways. They were generally constructed in the Hindu style but in a few of them the influence of Muhammadan architecture is visible. One of the most important of the gateways of Vijayanagar was what is known as Bhīma's gateway. It got this name because there is in it a large well carved bas-relief image of Bhīma. This gateway has a sallyport and is supported by massive walls on either side. Half a mile to the north-east of the Paṭṭābhirāma temple is another gate which seems to have served as a main entrance on the northern side of the city of Vijayanagar. In the inner side of the gateway there is a large image of Hanumān. Another gateway that deserves a passing mention is the one that is on the road that leads to the Paṭṭābhirāma temple from the south. While the lower portion of the gateway is built in the Hindu style, the upper portion is built in the Muhammadan style of architecture.

SECTION III

Jain Monuments

The prevalence of religious tolerance in the empire expressed itself in the construction of Jain temples also within the empire of Vijayanagar. At the capital itself there is a Jain temple called the Gāṇigitti temple. Gāṇigitti means "an oil woman"; but it is difficult to say how the temple came to be so named. The main tower above the shrine is built in the series of steps which is the most noticeable feature of this style. There is a beautiful monolithic *stambha* in front of the shrine and it contains an inscription of A.D. 1385[45] which states that it was built by Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, the Jain minister of Harihara II. The figure of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara with three superimposed umbrellas above his head and a flywhisk on either side is engraved upon the stone lintel over the main doorway. Further on the plaster parapet over the front porch there are three small niches each of which contains the remains of three seated Jaina images of the same saint carved on the door lintel.

45. *S.I.I.*, I, p. 156.

The Vardhamāna temple at Jīna Kāñcī or Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam in the Chingleput district received special attention at the hands of Irugappa. He built the *saṅgītamaṇṭapa* before the Vardhamāna *ardhamaṇṭapa* in front of the shrine at the instance of his preceptor Puṣpasēna. It is so named because musical concerts were held in it. It measures 61 feet 9 inches by 26 feet 4 inches. The style of the pillars is early Vijayanagar. On the base of the pillars are carved lions, plants, creepers, twisting snakes, knots, dancing girls, dwarfish Yakṣas playing on musical instruments, etc. The capital looks like a lotus and a motif hangs from it representing the seed vessel. In one of the pillars in the *maṇṭapa* is carved the figure of Irugappa Daṇḍanātha in high relief. "A spirit of extreme devotion, humility, asceticism, self-sacrifice and eagerness to be at the service of humanity is visible in the figure." The hair of the head is tied up in a knot and thrown on the left side of the figure.

The base of the *gōpura* is built of granite while the pyramidal part of it is constructed with stucco and brick. On the sides of the *gōpura* are pilasters with corbels of the Cōḷa type. In each of the window ornaments (*kūḍus*) of the tower is placed a Jain Tīrthaṅkara in a meditating pose.[46]

SECTION IV

Indo-Saracenic Architecture

In a few of the buildings at the capital and some of the provincial cities the Hindu style of architecture was largely influenced by the Muhammadan style. Indo-Saracenic architecture with its pointed arches and domes instead of the lintel came to influence the Vijayanagar style after the Hindu kings of the south came into effective contact with the Muhammadans.

One of the most important buildings at the capital which was so influenced was the Lotus Mahal within the Zenānā enclosure. It is a beautiful pavilion with an upper story. Some fine stucco ornaments adorn the walls of the pavilion. The building itself stands on a raised and ornamented stone basement. The angles are doubly recessed. "This pavilion is open on all sides and pro-

46. See for other particulars, T. N. Ramachandran, *Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam and its Temples*, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, 1934, pp. 27-32.

vided wtih massive pillars and arches supporting the room above which is reached by the flight of steps on the north side. The upper room is provided with numerous little windows on all sides, each window originally having little wooden shutters, a feature which we do not find in any other building here, and one which tends to strengthen the conjecture that these buildings do really represent those of the Zenānā. While the pillars and arches are Muhammadan in character, the base, roof, cornice and stucco ornament are Hindu in design. It is an interesting and not an unpleasant blending of these two different styles and a fine example of Indo-Saracenic architecture."[47] The Zenānā was enclosed by high walls. The thickness of these walls which are now partly in ruins diminishes with their height. Their top portion which is built of cement appears to have been originally armed with a row of iron spikes all round. On the north side of the enclosure is a huge watch tower rising over a small entrance through the walls. On the south-east corner there is another of the same type. Longhurst thinks that though these towers might have been used for that purpose, "their architectural style suggests that they were used mainly by the ladies of the Zenānā as pleasure resorts where they might safely watch events taking place outside the enclosure without themselves being seen."[48]

Outside the Zenānā enclosures there is a long building with eleven roomy stalls or rooms covered over with lofty domes. Over the central stall there is a square turret and the top is reached by a flight of steps on either side of it. The architecture of the building shows that it is entirely Muhammadan in character. Local tradition affirms that it was used as a stable for the state elephants.

Very near the elephant stables is an oblong building with an arched verandah. Its external appearance looks Gothic. Around the walls of the interior there is a raised platform running all round and is divided into a number of equal spaces with pillars in between carrying arches supporting the vaulted roofs above. Longhurst suggests that "the spaces between these rows of pillars were originally closed with rubble walls so as to form a number of small rooms or cubicles."[49]

Within the Daṇāik's enclosure there is a ruined building which Longhurst thinks to be the ruins of a mosque.

47. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

If it is so, it appears to have been built on a ruined Hindu building. Originally it seems to have been an open pavilion, and stood on an ornamented stone platform full of sculptures and carved mouldings. Later it appears to have been converted into a mosque by raising three walls on three sides of the building. The style of the architecture of the present building is Muhammadan in character. There now exists the ruined facade of a building known as Rāma Rāja's treasury. In it the principle of the foliated arch has been followed for structural purposes only. This is the structural basis of many of the Muhammadan buildings.[50]

On the north-west corner of the enclosure is a massive square tower. On the top of it there is a small room divided into three small chambers on a raised platform. There are two windows one on the north and the other on the west side of the tower; and below them are massive corbels supporting the projecting balconies in front. The roof is supported with arches and little domes.

The palace at Madura is a good specimen of Indo-Saracenic architecture. In it the arches are preferred to the lintel. The pillars on which the arches rest are 40 feet in height "and are joined by foliated brick arcades of great elegance of design, carrying a cornice and entablature rising to upwards of 60 feet."[51] Next to it is another building called the *Svargavilāsam* or celestial pavilion measuring 235 feet by 105 feet. It is arranged like a mosque, the central dome being supported by twelve columns, linked together by Saracenic arches. "Four similar arches are then thrown across the corner and the octagonal drum rises from these pierced by a clerestory. Above this at the cornice, 45½ feet, the octagon is changed to a circle and the dome rises in the centre to 75 feet, from the floor."[52]

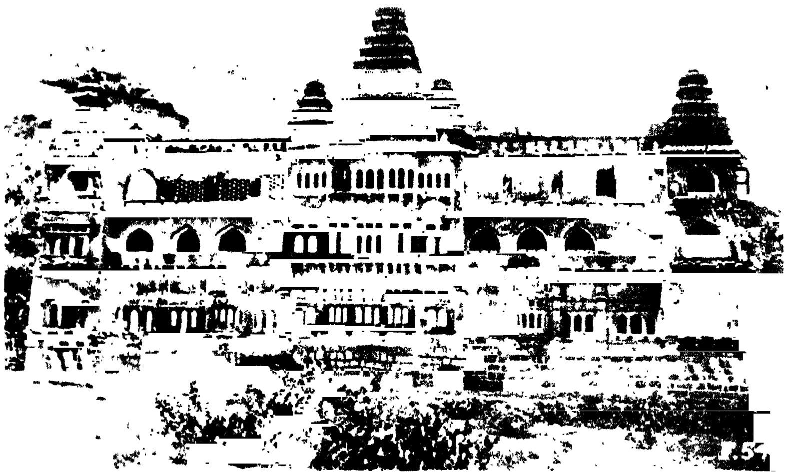
The palace at Candragiri, the third capital of the Vijayanagar kings, is "a facade of three stories surrounded by turrets in the form of *gōpuras*............With the exception of the angles each floor consists of a pillared hall, the piers are arched across both ways corbelled at the angles and closed with flat domes........ On the north or near the face of the palace in question the walls,

50. See Havell, *Ind. Arch.*, p. 184, fig. 43 and compare it with pl. xxxv, of the same book.

51. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 412.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-14.

To face page 410.



Palace, Candragiri

pierced by the arches which have brick work are built with brick entirely........The older vaults particularly those in the lower story appear to be worked in stone from stone corbels, while the upper vaults are of brick."[53] There is very little of ornament above the basement. It appears that the building was originally finer than it is now.

SECTION V

Painting

Painting is allied to the art of sculpture. In Ancient India the stationary images which were not taken out in procession or bathed on religious occasions were coated with a thin paint.[54] But later a change was made in the objects painted. By the Vijayanagar days the outer walls and ceilings were painted to give beauty and embellishment to the otherwise plain structures, and the images were no longer painted. These images which were produced on the walls and ceilings of temples were called *citrābhāsa*. The figures that were painted on the walls of the temples generally depended on the deity that was worshipped within the sanctuary. If it was a Vaiṣṇava God, scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* or the Vaiṣṇava *Purāṇas* were largely painted on the walls. If it was a Śaiva God the walls of the temple were usually painted with figures and scenes from the *Śaiva Purāṇas* ; and if it was a Jain temple scenes from the lives of Jain Tirthaṅkaras afforded the themes for the paintings on the walls of the temple. Thus it was a religious impulse that inspired the people to have such paintings in their temples. In some places sculptures were carved in high relief while the stucco figures and the plaster figures were decorated with paintings. All these produce great effect. The Hazāra Rāmasvāmi temple at Hampi contains some interesting paintings illustrative of the life of Rāma. The Rāmasvāmi temple at Kumbakōṇam to which large additions appear to have been made by Gōvinda Dīkṣita, the minister of the Nāyak kings of Tanjore, contains one thousand fresco paintings descriptive of the life of Rāma. Among the scenes painted are those of Daśaratha performing the *putrakāmeṣṭi yāgam* ; Rāma and his brothers studying under Vasiṣṭha, Rāma killing Tāṭakā, the four brothers marrying the four brides at Mithilā, Daśaratha dying, Rāma crossing the Ganges

53. See *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 295-96, for an article by Dr. R. F. Chisholm.
54. See T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, p. 38.

with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā and Guha rowing the boat and many similar ones. The Śāraṅgapāṇi temple in the same place also contains some good paintings.

The Mysore country also contains some temples the walls of which were decorated in the Vijayanagar period with the paintings of scenes from the Purāṇas. Figures of the *Aṣṭadikpālakas* are painted on the ceiling of the *Mahādvāra* of the Tontāda Siddhaliṅgēśvara temple at Edeyūr in the Kunigal taluk. Scenes from the life of Siddhaliṅga, the great Vīra Śaiva teacher, and the *Pañcaviṁśati* or the twenty-five sports of Śiva are painted on the ceilings of the *mukhamaṇṭapa* and the *pātālaṅkaṇa* of the same temple. Under each figure explanatory notes are written in Kannaḍa characters. These probably belong to the fifteenth century. Scenes from the Śaiva Purāṇa are painted on the ceilings of the *mukhamaṇṭapa* of the Terumallēśvara temple at Hiriyūr.

The ceilings of the *mukhamaṇṭapa* and the *saṅgītamaṇṭapa* of the Vardhamāna temple at Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam bear a number of coloured paintings illustrative of the incidents in the lives of three Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, Ṛṣabhadēva, Vardhamāna and Nēminātha, and incidentally Kṛṣṇa, the cousin of the last Tīrthaṅkara. Under some of them are labels explaining the incidents painted on the ceiling. Among the scenes represented are the birth of Ṛṣabhadēva, his marriage with two Vidyādhara brides, the festivities and entertainment connected with it, the coronation of Ṛṣabhadēva as king, the dance of the celestial nymph, the *dīkṣā* ceremony of Ṛṣabhadēva and many others. The *janmābhiṣēka* of Vardhamāna, Vardhamāna performing *dīkṣā*, dance of the celestial ladies and the *kōlāṭṭam* dance are a few of the scenes from the life of Vardhamāna painted on the ceilings. Incidents from the early life of Kṛṣṇa are also represented in painting on the ceiling. Scenes illustrative of Neminatha proceeding in a palanquin for *dīkṣā*; his departure to the forest and his penance are also seen painted on the ceilings.[54a]

Besides the mythological and legendary scenes contemporary life was also portrayed in some of the paintings. Speaking about a chamber in the palace of the king at Vijayanagar, Paes says that there were designed in painting all the ways of the life of the men who had been there, including the Portuguese so that the king's "wives" could understand the manner in which each one lived in

54a. See T. N. Ramachandran, *Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam and its Temples*. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, 1934, p. 63.

his own country, even to the blind and the beggars.[55] At the entrance to the king's residence were two images painted life-like and drawn to their respective manner. One of them represented Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's father, and looked in the painted figure as a dark gentleman of fine form and a little stout, while the other was the painting of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya himself.[56] The outer walls of a particular chamber within the palace were decorated with the figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons.[57] The hall where the women within the palace practised dancing was studded with painted sculptures; and the design of these showed the different positions at the ends of dances to remind the dancers of the postures in which they had to stand after a particular dance.[58] Paes speaks also of a painted recess where the women clung on with their hands in "order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs."[59] Abdur Razāk too while describing the avenues formed by the houses of nobles and dancing girls, says that the figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals were so well painted before them, that they seemed to be alive.[60] The *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* also mentions the paintings of birds, swans, doves, parrots and other domesticated animals in front of these houses.[61]

A study of the art of painting under the Vijayanagar kings will be incomplete without a description of the encouragement the Jesuit painters received at the hands of Veṅkaṭa II. The emperor was very much pleased with a few paintings of the Jesuit Fathers de Sa and Ricao who were staying at his court at Candragiri and asked them to send to him a good painter from St. Thomé. They readily agreed to do so and sent to him a Jesuit Lay Brother, Alexander Frey by name; and he remained with the king till 1602 during which period he is said to have painted and given to the king very fine paintings of scenes from the life of Jesus which were all very much appreciated by him. He soon left Veṅkaṭa's court, but the reason for this is not apparent. In 1607 the Jesuit Fathers sent to the court of Veṅkaṭa an Italian Lay Brother, Bartolomeo Fontebona, who was a good painter. He painted the figures of Loyola

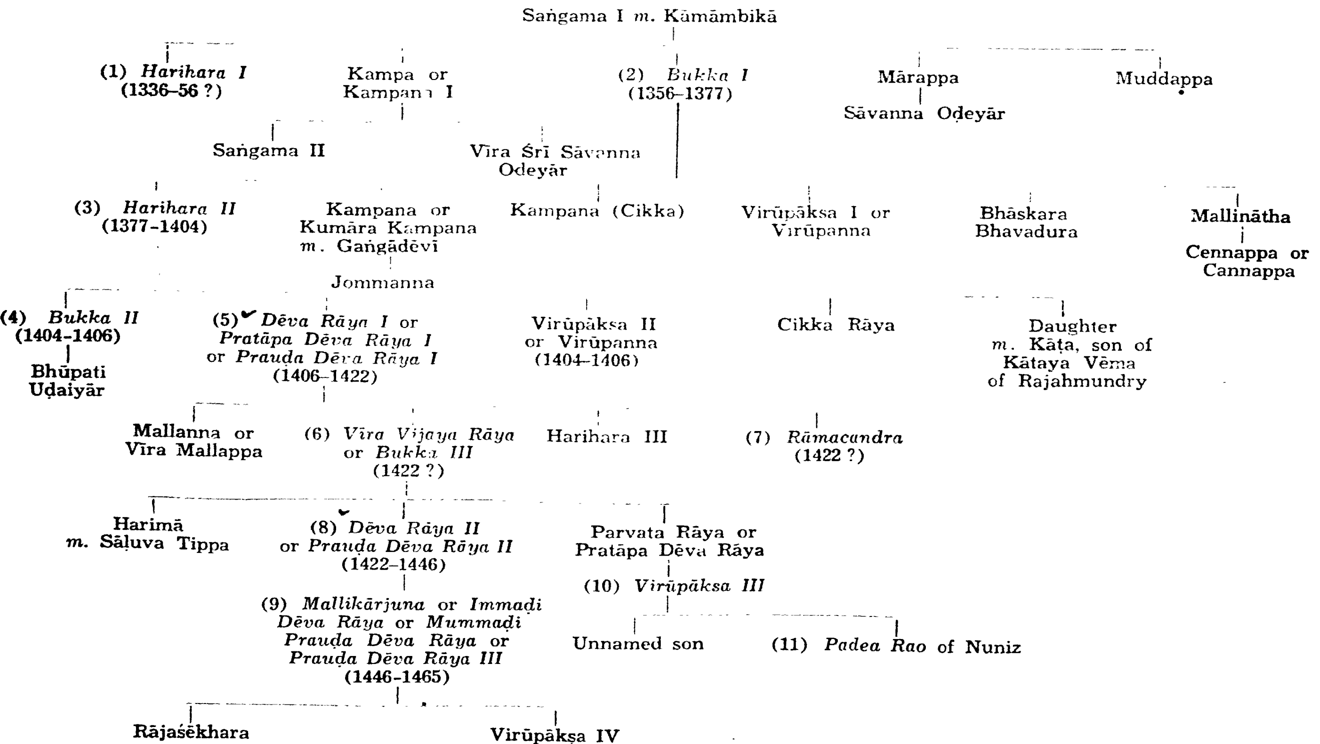
55. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 286.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
60. Elliot, *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 111.
61. Canto I, v. 106.

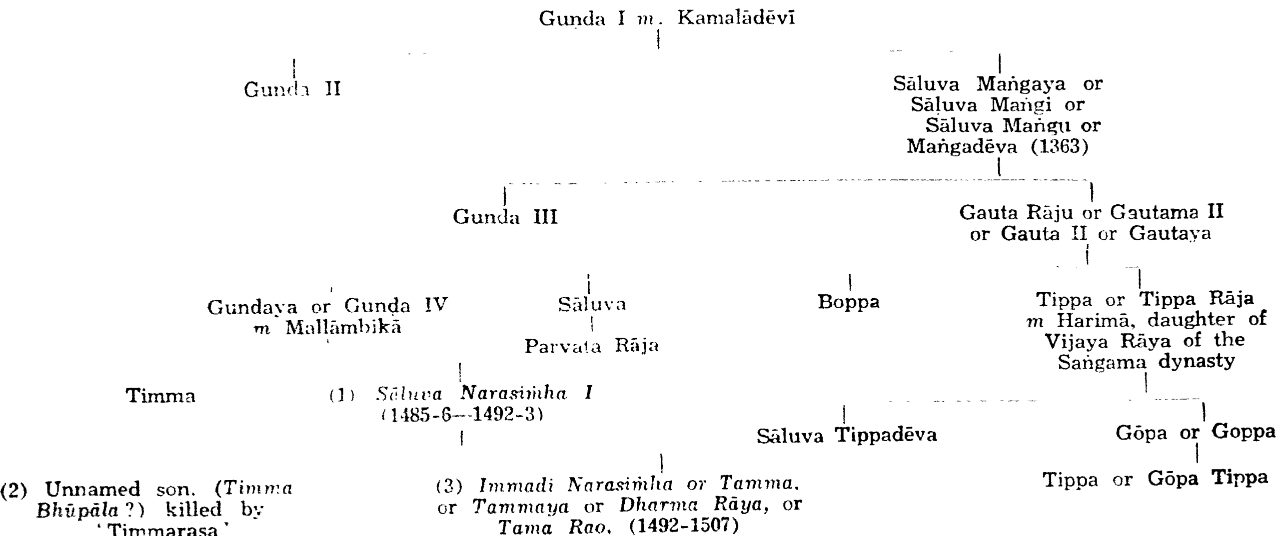
and Xavier for the king. Veṅkaṭa was very much pleased with his work and himself gave a sitting to have himself painted. The king hung in a prominent part of his court at Vellore the pictures of Jesus which the Lay Brother had painted and given him. The services of this painter at the court of Veṅkaṭa were so valuable to the Jesuits that they even thought of promoting him to the priesthood. But he was not raised to that position. It appears that when the Portuguese mission was closed at Vellore in 1611, Bartolomeo Fontebona also left the place. But during his stay at Vellore, his intimacy with the king and his ability to work quickly in painting were responsible for the great patronage and encouragement Jesuit painting received in the early seventeenth century at the Hindu court of Vijayanagar.[62]

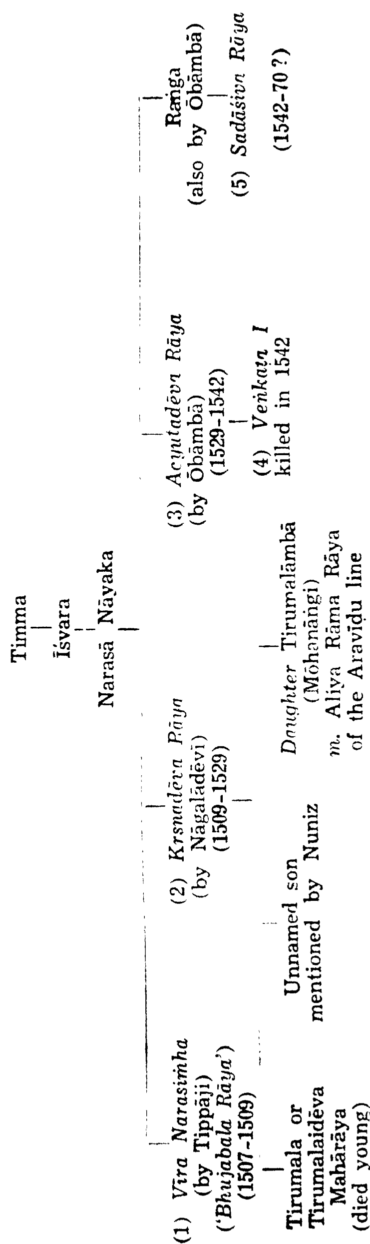
62. See for a detailed account of Veṅkaṭa's relations with the Jesuit painters, Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 486-493.

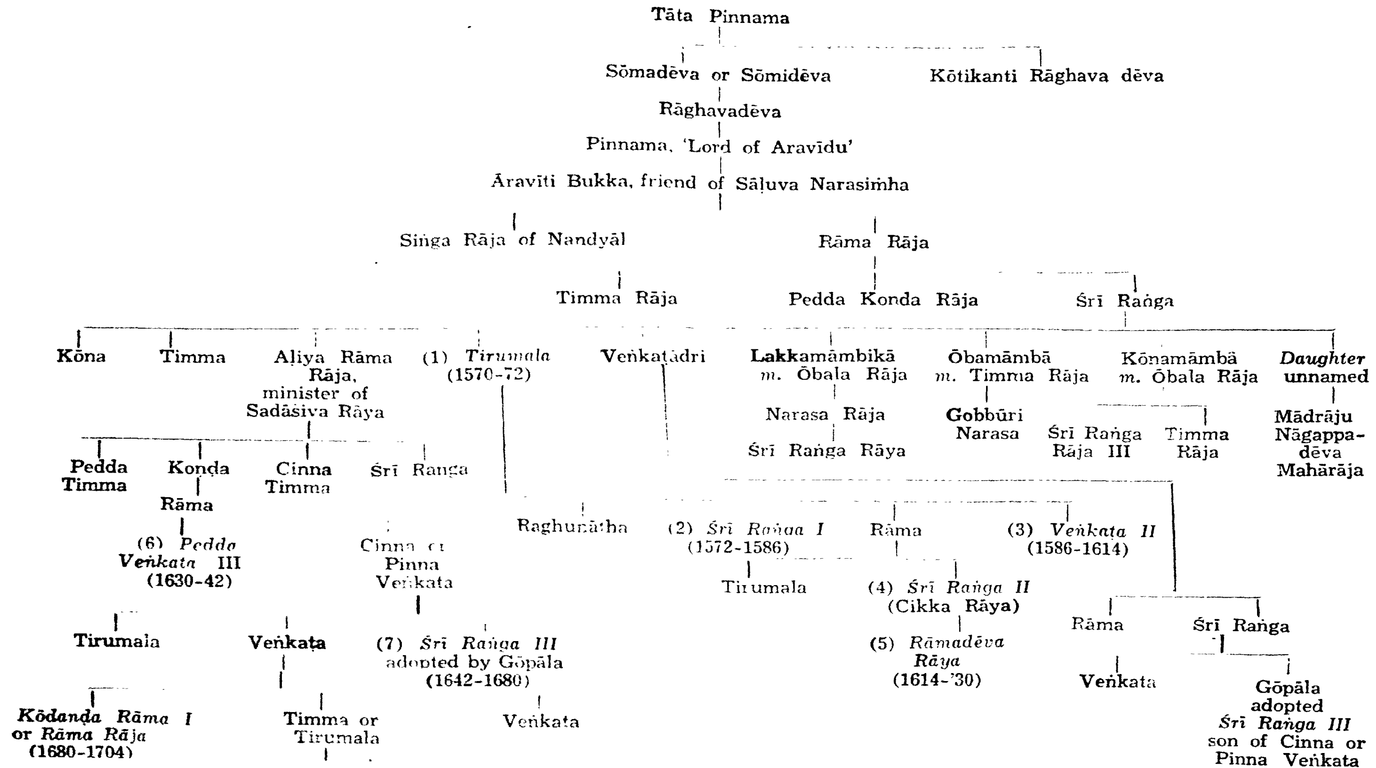
PEDIGREES OF THE VIJAYANAGAR KINGS

A. FIRST DYNASTY




B. SECOND DYNASTY
Gunda I m. Kamalādēvī
Gunda II
Sāluva Maṅgaya or Sāluva Maṅgi or Sāluva Maṅgu or Maṅgadēva (1363)
Gunda III
Gauta Rāju or Gautama II or Gauta II or Gautaya
Gundaya or Gunda IV m Mallāmbikā
Sāluva
Parvata Rāja
Boppa
Tippa or Tippa Rāja m Harimā, daughter of Vijaya Rāya of the Saṅgama dynasty
Timma
(1) Sāluva Narasiṁha I (1485-6—1492-3)
Sāluva Tippadēva
Gōpa or Goppa
Tippa or Gōpa Tippa
(2) Unnamed son. (Timma Bhūpāla?) killed by 'Timmarasa'
(3) Immadi Narasiṁha or Tamma. or Tammaya or Dharma Rāya, or Tama Rao. (1492-1507)


C. THIRD DYNASTY
Timma
Īśvara
Narasā Nāyaka
(1) Vīra Narasiṁha (by Tippāji) ('Bhujabala Rāya') (1507-1509)
Tirumala or Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya (died young)
Unnamed son mentioned by Nuniz
(2) Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya (by Nāgalādēvi) (1509-1529)
Daughter Tirumalāmbā (Mōhanāṅgi) m. Aliya Rāma Rāya of the Araviḍu line
(3) Acyutadēva Rāya (by Ōbāmbā) (1529-1542)
(4) Veṅkaṭa I killed in 1542
Raṅga (also by Ōbāmbā)
(5) Sadāśiva Rāya (1542-70?)


D. FOURTH DYNASTY
Tāta Pinnama
Sōmadēva or Sōmidēva
Kōtikanti Rāghava dēva
Rāghavadēva
Pinnama, 'Lord of Aravīdu'
Āravīti Bukka, friend of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha
Singa Rāja of Nandyāl
Rāma Rāja
Timma Rāja
Pedda Konda Rāja
Śrī Raṅga
Kōna
Timma
Aḷiya Rāma Rāja, minister of Sadāśiva Rāya
(1) Tirumala (1570-72)
Veṅkaṭādri
Lakkamāmbikā m. Ōbala Rāja
Ōbamāmbā m. Timma Rāja
Kōnamāmbā m. Ōbala Rāja
Daughter unnamed
Pedda Timma
Koṇḍa
Rāma
Cinna Timma
Śrī Raṅga
Narasa Rāja
Śrī Raṅga Rāya
Gobbūri Narasa
Śrī Raṅga Rāja III
Timma Rāja
Mādrāju Nāgappa-dēva Mahārāja
Raghunātha
(2) Śrī Raṅga I (1572-1586)
Rāma
(3) Veṅkaṭa II (1586-1614)
(6) Pedda Veṅkaṭa III (1630-42)
Cinna or Pinna Veṅkata
Tirumala
(4) Śrī Raṅga II (Cikka Rāya)
Rāma
Śrī Raṅga
Tirumala
Veṅkaṭa
(7) Śrī Raṅga III adopted by Gōpāla (1642-1680)
(5) Rāmadēva Rāya (1614-'30)
Veṅkata
Gōpāla adopted Śrī Raṅga III son of Cinna or Pinna Veṅkata
Kōdaṇḍa Rāma I or Rāma Rāja (1680-1704)
Timma or Tirumala
Veṅkata

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